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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION IN SCOTLAND

IN 1745.

BY

JOHN HOME, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF DOUGLAS, A TRAGEDY, &c.

Treason doth never prosper—What's the reason?
Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

COPE would not *cope*,
Nor WADE *wade* through the snow,
Nor HAWLEY *haul* his cannon to the foe.

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1822.

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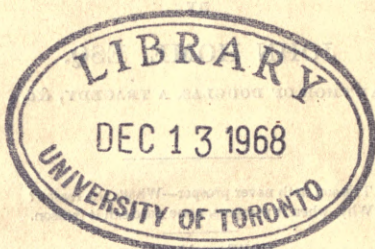
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1822

TO
THE KING.

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY, at every crisis of a most eventful reign, hath acted in such a manner as to captivate the hearts of your people, who love a brave and steady Prince. It becomes not one, whose praise may be thought partial, to celebrate the virtues of his Sovereign; for the first book I published was dedicated to your Majesty, then Prince of Wales: and when his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland presented my petition, for leave to dedicate this History to your Majesty, the petition was granted in terms that I shall be proud of as long as I live.

I am, with the most profound respect,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY'S

Most faithful subject,

And most obedient

Humble Servant,

JOHN HOME.

PREFACE.

HISTORY assumes various forms, and attains different degrees of excellence, from the importance of the subject, from those opportunities the Author has had to know the truth, and from the manner in which he relates the most interesting events of that period he hath chosen.

It is universally acknowledged, that the most complete instruction and entertainment are to be found in histories, written by those illustrious persons who have transmitted to posterity an account of the great actions which they themselves performed.

Small is the number of such historians ; and at this day, Xenophon and Cæsar seem to stand unrivalled and alone. Instructed by them and other ancient authors, men of learning, in modern times, are made acquainted with the military art and civil policy of Greece and Rome. But in the year 1745, when the Highlanders took arms against government, the condition and manner of the Highlanders at home, in time of peace, with their arms, array, and alacrity in making war,

were unknown in England, and the Low-country of Scotland, to a degree almost incredible. Our author, Wishart *, Bishop of Edinburgh, (who had been the Marquis of Montrose's chaplain, and an eye-witness of all his battles,) published a History of the Wars of Montrose, who gained so many victories, with a body of men consisting almost entirely of Highlanders; but very few people in the Low-country of Scotland had read the Bishop's History of Montrose; and when the rebel army was marching from the North to Edinburgh, though every body talked of nothing but the Highlanders, no mortal ever mentioned Wishart's name.

In the preface to a History of the Rebellion, it seems proper, for more than one reason, to take some farther notice of the Revolution, which is but slightly mentioned in the History itself.

That memorable event, which took place in England and Scotland at the same time, forms a new epoch in the constitution of both nations: for the great precedent of deposing one king, and soon after transferring the crown to another family, the nearest Protestant heir, but more remote than several Roman Catholic families, gave such an ascendant to popular principles, as puts the nature of the constitution beyond all controversy.

From the accession of James I. to the Revolution, (one short interval excepted †,) there had been a continued struggle between the King and the Parliament; during which, foreign affairs were either altogether neglected, or treated in

* Soon after the Restoration, Episcopacy was established in Scotland, and Wishart made Bishop of Edinburgh.

† The despotism of Cromwell, which was called the Commonwealth.

such a manner as greatly lessened that weight which Britain ought to have in the scale of Europe : but the Revolution put a period to the hereditary succession of the Stuart line ; and the settlement of the crown upon the Prince and Princess of Orange was accompanied with a declaration of rights, where all the points disputed between the King and the Parliament were finally determined, and the powers of the royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more accurately defined, than they had been in any former period of the government.

To the Revolution it is owing that the people of this island have ever since enjoyed the most perfect system of liberty that ever was known amongst mankind. To the Revolution it is owing, that at this moment, in the year 1801, Great Britain stands the bulwark of Europe ; whilst her fleets and armies, in regions the most remote, defend the cause of Government and Order, against Anarchy and Confusion.

The greater part of this account of the Revolution is given in the very words of Mr. Hume, in his History of England ; for no words can express more perfectly the advantage of the Revolution settlement. The same author, in the last volume of his history, has given the speech which James II. made to the Privy Council, assembled at his brother's death, in which he professed his resolution to maintain the established government, both in Church and State ; saying, that he knew the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he wished to be, and he was determined not to depart from them ; that as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of this nation, he would still go as far as any man in maintaining all its just rights and privileges.

This speech was received with great applause, not only by the council, but by the nation; and addresses full of loyalty and zeal came from every quarter of his dominions; so that the whole nation seemed disposed of themselves to resign their liberties, had not James, at the same time, made an attempt upon their religion; for, notwithstanding that regard which he professed for the established government in church and state, either he was not sincere in his professions, or he had entertained such a lofty idea of his prerogative, as left his subjects little or no right to liberty but what was dependent on his will and pleasure. Besides this account, given by Mr. Hume of the behaviour of James at his accession, and of the behaviour of his people at that time, there is a manuscript in Lord Lonsdale's possession, written by one of his ancestors, John Lord Lonsdale *, who says expressly, that when James succeeded his brother Charles II., the current of public favour ran so strong for the Court, that if the King had desired only to make himself absolute, he would not have met with much opposition; but James took the bull by the horns, and without the least regard to the laws, endeavoured to introduce Popery, which his subjects abhorred.

* John Lord Lonsdale was first Lord of the Treasury in the reign of King William.

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THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION
IN
THE YEAR 1745.

CHAP. I.

The Subject—Introduction—Extent and Limits of the Highlands of Scotland—Manners of the Highlanders—Clanship—The Highlanders inferior to the Lowlanders in Arms—When and how they became superior—Their Attachment to the Family of Stuart—They take Arms at every Crisis of Public Affairs—Measure suggested to reconcile them to Government—Approved by Sir Robert Walpole—Recommended by him to the Cabinet Council—Rejected by the Cabinet Council—Britain declares War against Spain.

IN the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, CHARLES EDWARD STUART, the Pretender's eldest son, calling himself the Prince of Wales, landed with seven persons in a remote part of the Highlands of Scotland. A few days after his arrival, some Highlanders (not a very considerable number) joined him, and descending from their mountains, undisciplined, and ill armed, without cavalry, without artillery, without one place of strength in their possession, attempted to dethrone the king, and subvert the government

of Britain. The conclusion of this enterprise was such as most people both at home and abroad expected ; but the progress of the rebels was what nobody expected ; for they defeated more than once the king's troops ; they over-ran one of the united kingdoms, and marched so far into the other, that the capital trembled at their approach, and during the tide of fortune, which had its ebbs and flows, there were moments when nothing seemed impossible ; and, to say the truth, it was not easy to forecast, or imagine, any thing more unlikely than what had already happened.

More than half a century has elapsed since the battle of Culloden was fought, in which the rebel army was defeated and dispersed, never to make head, nor appear in force again ; but no history has yet been published of a war in which the inhabitants of Britain were so much interested, that, as long as it lasted, they thought and spake of nothing else.

In those days, I carried arms, (though not a military man by profession,) and, serving with the king's troops, underwent part of their adverse fortune ; for I was taken prisoner at the battle of Falkirk, and during my captivity was an eye-witness of some memorable events, an account of which I committed to writing, whilst the facts were recent, and fresh in my memory ; and have taken no small pains for many years, to procure authentic information of what I did not see, visiting every place which was the scene of any remarkable occurrence, and examining the accounts which I had collected of each battle, upon the field where it was fought, accompanied and assisted by persons who had been present upon every occasion, and sometimes principally concerned.

Proceeding in this manner, I have finished a course of inquiry, which has enabled me to deduce, from its origin to its final extinction, the history of the rebellion.

That the story may be understood without the help of digressions, to explain and illustrate some circumstances concerning the Highlanders, which are not generally known, I shall introduce the subject by de-

scribing the country of the Highlanders, and the manners of the Highlanders, who, when Charles Stuart landed amongst them, were essentially different from the other inhabitants of Britain.

Scotland is divided into Highlands and Lowlands: these countries, whose inhabitants speak a different language, and wear a different garb, are not separated by firths or rivers, nor distinguished by northern and southern latitude: the same shire, the same parish at this day, contains parts of both; so that a Highlander and Lowlander (each of them standing at the door of the cottage where he was born) hear their neighbours speak a language which they do not understand.

The extent and limits of the country called the Highlands, (at the time of which I write,) may be traced by a winding line from Dunbarton upon the river Clyde, to Dunistra, upon the firth of Dornoch, separating the Highlands from the Lowlands.

This line, beginning at Dunbarton, goes on by Crieff and Dunkeld to Blairgowrie in Perthshire, from which it runs directly north to the forest of Morven, in the heights of Aberdeenshire: at Morven it proceeds still northwards to Carron in Banff-shire: from Carron it takes its course due west, by Tarnoway, in the shire of Murray, to the town of Nairne (in the small shire of that name;) from Nairne, the line is continued by Inverness to Contin, a few miles to the west of Dingwall in Ross-shire; at Contin, it turns again to the north-east, and goes on to Dunistra, upon the south side of the firth of Dornoch, where the line of separation ends, for the country to the north of the firth of Dornoch (that runs up between Ross-shire and Sutherland,) is altogether Highland, except a narrow stripe of land, between the hills and the German Ocean, which washes the east coast of Sutherland and Caithness. To the west of this line lie the Highlands and Islands, which make nearly one half of Scotland, but do not contain one-eighth part of the inhabitants of that kingdom. The face of the country is wild, rugged, and desolate, as is well expressed by the epithets given to the mountains, which are

called the grey, the red, the black, and the yellow mountains, from the colour of the stones of which in some places they seem to be wholly composed, or from the colour of the moss, which, in other places, covers them like a mantle.

In almost every strath, valley, glen, or bottom, glitters a stream or a lake; and numberless firths, or arms of the sea, indent themselves into the land.

There are also many tracts of no small extent, (which cannot properly be called either mountains or valleys,) where the soil is extremely poor and barren, producing short heath, or coarse sour grass, which grows among the stones that abound every where in this rough country. Nor is the climate more benign than the soil: for the Highlands in general lying to the west, the humid atmosphere of that side of the island, and the height of the hills in such a nothern latitude, occasion excessive rains, with fierce and frequent storms, which render the Highlands for a great part of the year a disagreeable abode to any man, unless it be his native country. In the Highlands, there are no cities nor populous towns*, no trade or commerce, no manufactures but for home consumption; and very little agriculture. The only commodity of the country that fetches money is cattle; and the chief employment of the inhabitants is to take care of the herds of their black cattle, and to wander after them among the mountains.

From this account of the Highlands, it is manifest that the common people, earning little, must have fared accordingly, and lived upon very little: but it is not easy to conceive how they really did live, and how they endured the want of *those things which* other people call the conveniences, and even the necessities

* There are several royal boroughs in the Highlands, that make a part of the different districts (each of which districts sends a representative to parliament.) Some of these boroughs lie near the line of separation, and are inhabited by a mixed race of people, Highlanders and Lowlanders. In the borough of Nairne, at the time of the rebellion, the inhabitants of one side of the town spake English, and their neighbours on the other side spake Gaelic.

of life. Their houses, scattered in a glen or strath *, were usually built of sod or turf, sometimes of clay and stone, without lime. In such habitations, without household stuff or utensils wrought by an artificer, the common people lived during the winter †, lying upon boards with heath or straw under them, and covered with their plaids and blankets. For a great part of the year, they subsisted chiefly upon whey, butter, cheese, and other preparations of milk, sometimes upon the blood ‡ of their cattle, without much grain or animal food, except what of the latter they could procure by fishing or hunting, which, before the late rebellion, were free to people of all ranks, in a country where the rivers and lakes swarmed with fish, and the hills were covered with game. Making a virtue of necessity, the Highlanders valued themselves upon being able to live in this manner, and to endure cold and hunger, to a degree almost incredible. In those days, the chieftains and gentlemen who were, many of them, stock farmers and graziers, though much better accommodated than their inferiors, occasionally lived like the common people ||, and contended with them in hardiness, maintaining that it was unworthy of a Highlander to stand in need even

* A glen is a narrow vale with a rivulet, and hills on each side. A strath is a valley with its hills, and a river.

† The winter town, as it was called, consisted of a number of such houses, and sometimes a better one belonging to a gentleman or farmer. In summer the Highlanders left the winter town with their cattle and servants, and went to the hills (for to each of the winter towns belonged a considerable tract of land in the adjacent hills.) There they built temporary huts in the shyings, or best spots of pasture, removing from one shying to another when the grass failed. About the end of August they left the hill and returned to the winter town.

‡ The first thing the Highlanders did when they went to the hills, was to bleed all their black cattle; and, boiling the blood in kettles, with a great quantity of salt, as soon as the mass became cold and solid, they cut it in pieces and laid it up for food.

|| The Highland gentlemen used to make hunting parties, and go to the hills in time of frost and snow, where they remained several days. They carried with them no provisions but bread and cheese, with some bottles of whisky, and slept upon the ground, wherever night overtook them, wrapped up in their plaids.

of oat-meal, to discharge the prime duty of a man, and fight for his chief.

In these words, which are their own, the Highlanders expressed their opinion of themselves, and their enthusiasm for clanship. As that singular institution formed and stamped the peculiar character of the Highlanders, I shall endeavour to explain the principle of the domination of chiefs, which now exists no more.

The Highlands are divided into a number of territories or districts, separated by rivers, lakes, or mountains, sometimes by ideal and arbitrary boundaries. Each of these districts, called by the natives a country, was the residence of a clan or kindred, who paid implicit obedience to the Cean Cinne, or head of the kindred. This person (known in the English language by the name of the Chief) was the hereditary magistrate, judge, and general of the clan: he determined all disputes that arose amongst his people, and regulated their affairs at his discretion. From his judgment there was no appeal: to decline the tribunal of the chief, and apply to any of the king's courts for redress against one of the same kindred, was considered as highly criminal, a kind of treason against the constitution of clanship, and the majesty of the chief. The surname of the chief was the name of the clan, and the title which he bore constantly reminded the Highlanders of the *kindly* origin of his power; for the Cean Cinne was the kinsman of his people, the source and fountain of their blood. His habitation was the place of general resort, the scene of martial and manly exercises: a number of the clan constantly attended him both at home and abroad: the sons of the most respectable persons of the name lived a great part of the year at his house, and were bred up with his children. To bind the kindred faster together, the cord of interest (in the most ordinary sense of the word) was drawn strait between them: the lands of the chief were let to his nearest relations upon very easy terms; and, by them, parcelled out to their friends and relations, in the same manner. That consanguinity, the great principle of clanship, might not lose its force by being diffused amongst a

multitude of men, many of whom were far removed from the chief, there were intermediate persons, called the chieftains, through whom the inferiors looked up to their chief. Every clan consisted of several tribes; and the head of each tribe was the representative of a family descended from that of the chief. His patronimick (which marked his descent) denominated the tribe of which he was chieftain, and his lands (for every chieftain had some estate in land) were let to his friends and relations in the same manner that the lands of the chief were let to his friends: each chieftain had a rank in the clan regiment according to his birth; and his tribe was his company. The chief was colonel, the eldest * cadet was lieutenant-colonel, and the next cadet was major. In this state of subordination, civil and military, every clan was settled upon their own territories, like a separate nation, subject to the authority of their chief alone. To his counsels, prowess and fortune, (to his auspices,) they ascribed all their success in war. The most sacred oath to a Highlander, was to swear by the hand of his chief. The constant exclamation, upon any sudden accident was, may God be with the chief, or, may the chief be uppermost. Ready at all times to die for the head of the kindred, Highlanders have been known to interpose their bodies between the pointed musket, and their chief †, and to receive the shot which was aimed at him.

* In settling the rank of their officers, the same rule was not observed by every clan that took arms in the year 1745. In some regiments, the eldest cadet was lieutenant-colonel, and in others the youngest cadet. The Highlanders say, that, according to the original customs of clanship, the eldest cadet ought to be next in command to the chief, and that the appointment of the youngest cadet to be lieutenant-colonel, was an innovation introduced by those chiefs who had great land estates.

† Examples of this sort of enthusiasm are handed down by tradition, and preserved in the memoirs and manuscript histories of the Highland families. A low-countryman, not many years ago, expressing his admiration of one of those commoners who sacrificed himself to save the life of his chief, a Highland gentleman said that he saw no reason to admire the action so much, that the man did his duty, and no more; for he was a villain and a coward who, in the same circumstances, would not do the same.

In such communities, the king's peace and the law* of the land were not much regarded: beyond the territories of each clan, the sword was the arbiter of all disputes: several of the clans had inveterate quarrels, and deadly feuds; they went to war and fought battles. Rapine was often practised, under pretext of reprisal and revenge; and, in those parts of the low country that bordered upon the Highlands, depredation and rapine were often committed without any pretence at all: hence, fierceness of heart, prompt to attack or defend, at all times and places, became the characteristic of the Highlanders. Proud of this prime quality, they always appeared like warriors; as if their arms had been limbs and members of their bodies, they were never seen without them: they travelled, they attended fairs and markets, nay they went to church with their broad swords and dirks; and in latter times, with their muskets and pistols. Before the introduction of fire-arms, the bow, the broad sword and target, with the dirk, were the weapons offensive and defensive of the Highlanders. When the use of fire-arms became common in the kingdom, they assumed the musket instead of the bow, and, under the smoke of their fire, advanced to close with the enemy. As to their dress, or Highland garb (for so they call it at this day,) which, like every thing unusual in war, had an effect of terror in the last rebellion, it is needless now, when so many battalions of the king's troops wear it as their uniform, to describe a dress which is to be seen every day in the streets of London and Edinburgh: but it seems necessary to mention, that the target was no part of a Highlander's accoutrements, except on the day of battle; and in those battles that were fought during the rebellion, most of the men in the front rank of every Clan regiment, besides his other arms, had a

* The chiefs sometimes went to law with one another, but the decisions of the Court of Session, and the judgments of the Privy Council, were not of much avail, unless the party who had obtained judgment in his favour was more powerful than his antagonist, or better supported by his neighbouring chiefs. Locheil and Mackintosh were at law, and at war, for 360 years.

pistol ; though in the present times, neither the 42d regiment, renowned for valour, nor any other Highland regiment, has any arms but the musket and bayonet.

Such were the arms and accoutrements of the Highlanders when they went to war. Order and regularity, acquired by discipline, they had little or none ; but the spirit of clanship, in some measure, supplied the want of discipline, and brought them on together ; for when a Clan advanced to charge an enemy, the head of the kindred, the chief, was in his place, and every officer at his post, supported by his nearest relations, and most immediate dependants. The private men were also marshalled according to consanguinity : the father, the son, and the brother, stood next each other. This order of nature was the sum of their tactic, the whole of their art of war.

Such was the state in which the Highlanders remained amongst their mountains for many centuries. Troublesome neighbours, no doubt, they were to the inhabitants of those parts of the low country that lie nearest the Highlands ; but not at all formidable enemies to the government of Scotland, as long as England and Scotland were separate kingdoms, and under different sovereigns ; for in those days, although the English and Scots were almost continually at war, there were no standing forces in either kingdom ; but all the men, from sixteen to sixty years of age, were trained to arms, and obliged to provide themselves with armour offensive and defensive, according to their rank and condition. Whilst so complete a militia was the national defence, the Lowlanders (especially the southern Scots upon the frontier opposite to England) accustomed to contend with the English, and armed and appointed like the warriors against whom they fought, were so much superior to the Highlanders, that when the kings of Scotland were at peace with England, and not engaged in war with their own rebellious subjects in the south, they themselves, or their own lieutenants, used to march armies of Lowlanders to the utmost extremities of the north to quell the insurrections of the Highlanders, and chastise their unruly chiefs. But when James

the Sixth succeeded to the crown of England, at the death of Queen Elizabeth, the English and the Scots (that is the Lowlanders of Scotland) at once laid down their arms, which seemed to be an unnecessary burden, when their ancient enemies had become their fellow subjects. The untasted pleasures of peace were delicious to both nations ; and, during the pacific reign of James, they enjoyed them in perfect security. The militia was totally neglected ; and, for a course of years, arms were so little regarded, that when the civil war broke out in the reign of Charles the First, there were but few arms to be found in the country, and nobody could use them, without learning a new trade, as recruits for the army do at present.

Meanwhile the Highlanders continued to be the same sort of people that they had been in former times : Claiship flourished, depredation and petty war never ceased : then it was that the Highlanders became superior to the Lowlanders in arms.

The alteration of circumstances, which produced so great a change, does not seem to have been much attended to, nor its effects foreseen, but by the Marquis of Montrose, who, having at last procured the king's commission to command in Scotland, (which he had long and earnestly solicited,) set out from Carlisle in the most desperate state of the royal cause, with two gentlemen (he himself disguised like a servant,) and made his way through the Low Country of Scotland to the Highlands, where he erected the king's standard, and with a handful of men, began the war, in which he fought and won so many battles, that, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, " he made himself, upon the matter, master of the kingdom."

The victories of Montrose raised the reputation of the Highlanders, and fixed them in the interest of the family of Stuart *, to which they were naturally

* Not all the Highlanders.—The Marquis of Argyll, and several other chiefs, joined the Covenanters ; but the most warlike clans took arms for the king ; and, since that time, the different clans have generally adhered to the side which they took in the first contest.

well inclined ; for, ignorant and careless of the disputes, civil and religious, which occasioned the war, Charles the First appeared to them in the light of an injured chief.

At the restoration, the Highlanders, who had given such proofs of their loyalty to Charles the First, were in great favour with his sons Charles and James the Second, who looked upon them as the firmest friends of monarchy, and confided in them so much that at every critical time, when there were so much discontent in both kingdoms, several thousand Highlanders were brought down to the western counties of Scotland by the ministers of Charles the Second, and employed as a body of troops to enforce the laws against the Covenanters.

Soon after the Revolution, the Highlanders took arms against the government of King William. They were commanded by the Viscount Dundee ; and, at the battle of Killiecrankie, defeated the king's army, which was greatly superior to them in number*. Lord Dundee was killed in the battle, and his death may be said to have put an end to the rebellion.

From the year 1689, the Highlanders kept a constant correspondence with James the Second as long as he lived, entreating him to procure from the king of France a body of troops to invade Britain ; and engaging to support the invasion by an insurrection.

After the death of James, they continued their correspondence† with his son at St. Germain's, at Avignon, at Rome, or wherever he was, soliciting him to procure assistance from France, and assuring him of their readiness to appear in arms.

* To the victory which the Highlanders gained at the battle of Killiecrankie, General M·Kay, who commanded the king's army, ascribes that confidence which the Highlanders had in themselves, as equal or superior to regular troops.

† The correspondence of the Jacobites in Scotland and England with St. Germain's, during the reign of King William and that of Queen Anne, was known in part at the time ; but the great extent of it was not fully known till the year 1775, when Macpherson's History of Great Britain was published, with the Stuart papers from the Revolution to the accession of the family of Hanover.

At the accession of the family of Hanover, the Highlanders took arms against the parliamentary settlement of the crown, though no French troops came to their assistance.

Louis the Fourteenth was dead *, before the Earl of Mar erected his standard in the Highlands ; and the Duke of Orleans, and regent of France, never intended to do any thing in favour of the Pretender's cause.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Earl of Mar was joined by so many fighting men, that the army he commanded at the battle of Sheriffmuir was greatly superior to the royal army ; but the king's troops were commanded by the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, renowned for valour, and of great experience in arms.

The battle of Sheriffmuir was a drawn battle, for the number of the slain was nearly equal on both sides ; and both generals claimed the victory.

This rebellion, at the accession of the house of Hanover, was very soon followed by another, which was part of a plan to restore the family of Stuart, formed by Cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. In the year 1719, the King of Spain declared war against England, acknowledged the Pretender as King of Great Britain ; and equipped a fleet of ten ships of the line with several frigates, to escort a number of transports, having on board 6000 troops and 12000 stand of arms. While this armament (destined to invade England under the command of the Duke of Ormond) was preparing at Cadiz, the Marquis of Tullibardin, the Earls of Seaforth and Mareschal, with several other persons attainted in the year 1716, landed in the Island of Lewes. Most of those persons came privately from France. But the Earl of Mareschal, who came from St. Sebastian, brought with him two Spanish frigates, having on board 300 Spa-

* Louis the Fourteenth died in the month of August, in the year 1715. The Earl of Mar erected his standard in the month of September in the same year.

nish soldiers, some ammunition, arms, and a sum of money. The Marquis of Tullibardin and his associates remained at the island of Lewes, corresponding with the disaffected chiefs in the Highlands, and engaging them to take arms when the Duke of Ormond with his troops should land in England. But the Duke of Ormond never did land in England; for the Spanish fleet having sailed from Cadiz, met with a violent storm off Cape Finisterre, which dispersed them completely. Meanwhile the Marquis of Tullibardin, who had a commission from the Pretender to command in Scotland, left the Island of Lewes with the 300 Spaniards, and came over to the main land of Scotland; but, as every thing remained quiet in England, very few Highlanders joined him. The ministers of George the First, informed of the intended invasion of England, and of the Spaniards who had landed in the Island of Lewes with the attainted chiefs, had brought over to Britain 2000 men of the Dutch army from Holland, and six battalions of Imperial troops from the Austrian Netherlands. The Dutch forces were sent down to Inverness, where General Wightman (commander in chief for Scotland) had taken post with some British regiments both of horse and foot. As soon as he was informed that the Spaniards had landed in the Highlands, and that some Highlanders had joined them, he marched with his troops, and the Dutch auxiliaries, into the Highlands; and, coming up with the enemy at Glenshiel (between Fort Augustus and Bernera,) he attacked them immediately. The engagement, if it may be called so, was a very short one. The Highlanders, favoured by the ground, withdrew to the hills, without having suffered much. The Spaniards laid down their arms, and were made prisoners.

Such had been the state of the Highlands, and the attachment of the greater and more warlike part of the Highlanders to the family of Stuart, from the reign of Charles the First, to that of George the Second.

Notwithstanding the frequent rebellions, during that long and eventful period, raised by a handful of

men * in a corner of the island, no measures were taken to reconcile them to government ; or to enable the other inhabitants of Britain to resist the Highlanders when they thought proper to rebel.

The state of arms in every part of Britain was allowed to remain the same : the Highlanders lived under their chiefs in arms ; the people of England, and the Lowlanders of Scotland, lived without arms under their sheriffs and magistrates ; so that every rebellion was a war carried on by the Highlanders against the standing army ; and a declaration of war with France or Spain, which required the service of the troops abroad, was a signal for a rebellion at home. Strange as it may seem, it was actually so.

Meanwhile, that is, in the interval between one rebellion and another, the arts of peace were successfully cultivated in Britain, and the national wealth was greatly augmented ; but of that wealth no part or portion accrued to the Highland Chiefs, who still kept their people upon the old establishment ; and, always expecting another rebellion, estimated their consideration by the number of men they could bring to the field †. Of the danger that was likely to arise from the Highlanders, in case of a foreign war, government was warned by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, President of the Court of Session ; who at the same time suggested a measure to prevent rebellion and insurrection in the Highlands, by engaging the Highlanders in the service of government. As there will be frequent occasion to mention this gentleman, who, in the course of the rebellion, contributed so much to frustrate the designs of Charles, it seems proper to mention some circumstances which are

* The number of men which the disaffected clans could bring to the field was estimated at 12,000. Stuart papers, vol. ii. p. 117.

† About the year 1740, some Low Country gentlemen made a party to visit the Highlands, where they were entertained at the house of one of the chiefs with great hospitality, and a profusion of game, fish, and French wine. One of the guests asked their landlord, somewhat bluntly, What was the rent of his estate ? He answered he could raise 500 men. This story is told of M'Donald of Keppoch, who was killed at the battle of Culloden.

now known only to the few people still alive who remember him.

Duncan Forbes, born a younger brother, and bred to the law, had passed through the different offices of that profession which usually lead to the chair, universally esteemed, and thought still worthy of a higher office than the one he held. When called to preside in the supreme court of justice in Scotland, he fully answered the expectations of his countrymen: his manners gave a lustre to the dignity of his station; and no president of the Court of Session was ever more respected and beloved. He was a Whig upon principle; that is, he thought the government established at the Revolution was the best form of government for the inhabitants of Britain. In the end of autumn, in the year 1738, he came to Lord Milton's house at Brunstane, one morning before breakfast. Lord Milton was surprised to see him at so early an hour, and asked what was the matter? "A matter," replied the president, "which I hope you will think of some importance. You know very well that I am, like you, a Whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders; and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time, I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme, which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect.

"A war with Spain seems near at hand, which, it is probable, will soon be followed by a war with France; and there will be occasion for more troops than the present standing army; in that event, I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scotch officer of undoubted loyalty, to be colonel of each regiment; and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns, from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon, in case of a war, to take arms for the Pretender. If government pre-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be

hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home ; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands. I have come *here* to shew you this plan, and to entreat, if you approve it, that you will recommend it to your friend Lord Ilay*, who, I am told, is to be here to-day or to-morrow, in his way to London."

"I will, most certainly," said Milton, "shew the plan to Lord Ilay; but I need not recommend it to him; for, if I am not much mistaken, it will recommend itself."

Next day, the Earl of Ilay came to Brunstane: Lord Milton shewed him the president's plan, with which he was extremely pleased, and carrying it to London with him, presented it to Sir Robert Walpole, who read the preamble, and said, at once, that it was the most sensible plan he had ever seen, and was surprized that no body had thought of it before.

He then ordered a cabinet council to be summoned, and laid the plan before them, expressing his approbation of it in the strongest terms, and recommending it as a measure which ought to be carried into execution immediately, in case of a war with Spain. Notwithstanding the minister's recommendation, every member of the council declared himself against the measure, assuring Sir Robert Walpole, that for his sake they could not possibly agree to it; that, if government should adopt the plan of the *Scots* judge, the patriots (for so the opposition was called) would exclaim that Sir Robert Walpole, who always designed to subvert the British constitution, was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army, and enslave the people of England. The plan was set aside †; and, next year, Britain declared war against Spain ‡.

* Archibald, Earl of Ilay, (who, in the year 1743, succeeded his brother John, Duke of Argyll,) was the friend of Sir Robert Walpole; and, during the long administration of that minister, had the management of the king's affairs in Scotland committed to him: Lord Milton, justice clerk, was subminister to Lord Ilay.

† This account of the president's plan, and of the reason for which it had been rejected, was given to the author of this history by Lord Milton.

‡ Britain declared war against Spain on the 23d of October, in the year 1739.

CHAP. II.

Conspiracy to restore the Family of Stuart—Engagement to take Arms—Sent to the Old Pretender—Transmitted by him to Cardinal Fleury—War at the Death of Charles VI.—Emperor of Germany—The House of Austria attacked—Asserted by Great Britain—Cardinal Fleury sends an Agent to Edinburgh—Plan of Invasion—Death of Cardinal Fleury—Succeeded by Cardinal de Tencin—Charles Stuart arrives at Paris—Goes to Dunkirk—The Troops begin to embark—Design of Invasion frustrated by a Storm—Charles embarks for Scotland—Lands in the Highlands.

WAR having been declared against Spain, in the year 1739, some of the most zealous Jacobites met at Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1740; and, concluding that the Spanish war would certainly bring on a war with France, they framed an association, engaging themselves to take arms, and venture their lives and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided that the king of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. This association, signed by seven persons* of distinction, was delivered to Drummond of Bochaldy, (nearly related to Cameron of Locheil, and several other disaffected chiefs,) to be carried to the Pretender at Rome, whom they entreated to procure assistance from France. Besides the association, Drummond carried with him a list† of those chiefs and

* The seven were, Lord Lovat, James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Locheil, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. *Lord Lovat's Trial*, p. 21.

† The list contains so great a number of names, that Secretary Murray, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Lords, said that he thought it to be rather a general list of the Highlands. *Lord Lovat's Trial*, p. 21.

chieftains, who, the subscribers thought, were willing and ready to join them, if a body of French troops should land in Britain. With these papers Drummond went to Rome, where the Pretender lived; for by an article of the treaty of peace made at Utrecht, he had been obliged to quit the dominions of France; and, leaving St. Germain's, went to Bar in Lorraine, from that to Avignon, and at last to Rome. The Pretender having examined the papers, thought the project practicable and well-timed; for the clamour against the government of George the Second, conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, resounded through Europe, and foreigners mistook the outcry of faction and party rage, for the voice of disaffection and revolt. To the Pretender and his adherents at Rome, who were very willing to believe what they wished, Britain seemed ripe for another revolution; and the papers brought from Scotland by Drummond, were immediately forwarded by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury at Paris, with the Pretender's approbation of the plan, and a request that his Eminence would grant the assistance required. The French minister thought it sufficient to promise that the assistance required should be granted as soon as the undertakers for an insurrection could shew a reasonable prospect of success. During this correspondence, before any thing was settled with Cardinal Fleury, a general war broke out in Europe at the death of Charles the Sixth*, Emperor of Germany, the last of the male line of the house of Austria. The rise and progress of that war are well known: the House of Austria, divested of the imperial dignity, was attacked in every part of her hereditary dominions by a powerful combination of princes, which she could not have resisted long, if Great Britain, at war with Spain, and upon very ambiguous terms with France, had not interposed in this great quarrel with her money and her arms. The British subsidies† had begun to operate with effect in Ger-

* Charles the Sixth died in the month of October, in the year 1740.

† A subsidy of 300,000*l.* was granted by parliament to the Queen of Hungary in the year 1741, and a subsidy of 500,000*l.* in the year 1742. *Smollet's Hist.* vol. iii. chap. vii.

many*: the British troops were preparing to embark for the Continent, and some foreign troops in British pay had marched to join the Austrian army, when the minister of France, finding that the designs of his court were counteracted every where, by this zealous ally of the House of Austria, resolved to call the attention of George the Second and his ministers to their own affairs, by reviving the pretensions of the Stuart family to the crown of Britain.

In the beginning of the month of February, 1742, Drummond of Bochaldy, formerly mentioned, came privately to Edinburgh, where he found most of the persons who had signed the association which he had carried to the Pretender at Rome: these conspirators, with the addition of some others, had formed themselves into a society, which they called the Concert of Gentlemen† for managing the king's affairs in Scotland. Drummond assured the members of the Concert, that he had been exceedingly well received by Cardinal Fleury, who expressed much satisfaction with the contents of the papers from Scotland; and had the Pretender's interest so much at heart, that, provided he had the same assurances from the friends of the Stuart family in England, he would send over an army of 13,000 men, of whom 1,500 were to be landed in the West Highlands of Scotland, near Fort William, and 1,500 on the East coast at Inverness; while the main body, consisting of 10,000 men under the command of Marshal Saxe, should land with Charles Stuart, the Pretender's‡ eldest son, as near London as possible.

* In the months of April and May, in the year 1742, twenty-four regiments of British troops were landed on the Continent.

† Murray of Broughton (afterwards secretary,) and one or two more, who had not signed the association to take arms, which was sent to the old Pretender at Rome, in the year 1740, were members of the concert when Drummond of Bochaldy came to Edinburgh from Cardinal Fleury in the year 1742.

‡ Cardinal Fleury, or Drummond, seems to have taken for granted, that Charles would come over with the French troops, though it had not been mentioned to his father. In the following year, 1743, Drummond, at the desire of the French court, went to Rome to persuade the Pretender to send his son to France. *Lord Lovat's Trial*, p. 79.

After this exposition of the cardinal's plan of invasion, Drummond staid at Edinburgh till Cameron of Lochiel, who had been sent for, came to town, and having acquainted him with every circumstance of the intended invasion, he returned to Paris, and had an audience of the French Minister, who (as the members of the Concert were informed by Drummond, in a letter to Lord Traquair) was extremely pleased with the account given him of the state of affairs in Scotland, and designed to put the scheme in execution that very year.

Nothing, however, was done, or attempted to be done, in the year 1742; and the members of the Concert became apprehensive that Cardinal Fleury never intended an invasion, but that Drummond, to keep up the spirit of party in Scotland, and make himself considerable, as the cardinal's agent for such great affairs, had exceeded his instructions, and laid before the gentlemen of the Concert a plan of invasion, which he knew would please them.

To be certain how matters stood, Murray of Broughton, a member of the Concert, was prevailed upon to go to Paris, and learn from the cardinal himself, what he really intended, and what the friends of the Stuart family were to expect from the court of France.

In the beginning of the month of January, Murray left Edinburgh, and in his way to Paris heard that Cardinal Fleury was dead*. This piece of intelligence he thought made it still more necessary for him to proceed.

When Murray arrived at Paris, he had an audience of Monsieur Amelot, secretary for foreign affairs, who told him that Cardinal Fleury had delivered to him all the papers relating to the Pretender's business, and had recommended to his successor, Cardinal de Tencin, the execution of his design to restore the family of Stuart: that the king of France was informed of Mr. Murray's coming to Paris, and the cause of it, in consequence of which he had given him orders to

* Cardinal Fleury died in the month of January 1743, in the 90th year of his age.

assure Mr. Murray, that he (the king of France) had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any of those gentlemen who had signed the association ; and, as soon as an opportunity offered, would certainly put the scheme in execution.

Murray returned immediately to Scotland, and gave his friends an account of the conversation which he had with Monsieur Amelot, whose assurances of the king of France's intention to execute the plan of invasion proved very soon to be true.

As the rebellion which broke out in Scotland in the year 1745 was only a fragment of the original design, it seems not improper to give an account of the attempt to invade Britain, which was made in the beginning of the year 1744 ; and, if it had not miscarried, would have joined a French army of 15,000 men, commanded by Marshal Saxe, to the forces of all the disaffected chiefs united then ; but much divided when Charles Stuart landed in the Highlands, without troops, arms, or money.

In the month of December*, in the year 1743, Cardinal de Tencin dispatched a messenger to the young Pretender at Rome, to acquaint him of the preparations made to invade Britain, and desire him to come immediately to Paris. The messenger arrived at Rome on one of the last days of December ; and Charles, giving out that he was going to hunt the boar, as he used to do every season, left Rome very privately, on the 9th of January, and rode post to Genoa, where he embarked in a felucca, and proceeded by Monaco to Antibes.

* Murray, in his examination before the House of Lords, gives a long and somewhat perplexed account of the management of his party, and the agents from France, in the year 1743. Murray himself, and several others, seem to have been chiefly employed to procure from the Tories in England, the same assurances that had been given to the court of France by the Jacobites in Scotland. But the English Tories were extremely shy, and unwilling to meet or converse on that subject with the persons sent from France or Scotland, and not one Englishman could be persuaded to give the same assurances under his hand and seal, as had been given by the seven original conspirators. *Lord Lovat's Trial*, p. 26 and 27.

At Antibes he got on horseback again, and rode to Paris: there he found Marshal Saxe, and the general officers appointed to serve under him in the expedition to England. As Charles, in his journey from Rome, met with very bad weather, he had been obliged to stop some days at different places; and the British court received information from Antibes that the Pretender's eldest son had arrived there on his way to Paris. Upon which the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the English resident at the court of France, that he should go to Monsieur Amelot, and acquaint him with the information which the king his master had received concerning the Pretender's eldest son; and that "his Majesty did not doubt but that, if the accounts were founded, his Most Christian Majesty would, pursuant to treaties, give effectual orders that the said person may be obliged forthwith to quit France."

From this letter it is evident that the British court had not the least suspicion that the young Pretender had left Rome at the desire of the French minister, and was on his way to Paris to join Marshal Saxe, and invade Britain with an army under his command. But in a very few days after the date* of the Duke of Newcastle's letter, a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line, and five frigates, made their appearance in the channel off Torbay. The British ministers were soon informed that this fleet was destined to escort a large body of troops, who were assembled at Lisle, St. Omer, Ayre and Burgues, that they might be ready to march for Dunkirk, where a number of transports was collected to carry them over to Britain. The court and the people of England were greatly alarmed, and not without cause†; for most part of the British troops

* The letter, published in the magazines, and other registers of that year, is dated February 3, 1743-44.

† The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; some suspected persons were taken into custody, and both Houses of Parliament addressed the King to augment his forces by sea and land in such manner as he should think necessary at this dangerous juncture of affairs.

were in Flanders, the grand fleet of England was in the Mediterranean, and there were only six ships of the line ready for sea, lying at Spithead. Orders were immediately given to fit out and man all the ships of war in the different ports of the channel. Never were orders better obeyed; for the French fleet having been driven down the channel, by a strong gale of easterly wind, before they could get up again, Sir John Norris with twenty-one ships of the line, and a good many frigates, arrived in the Downs, where he lay, watching the motions of the transports at Dunkirk, from the 16th to the 23d of February. That day an English frigate came into the Downs with the signal for seeing an enemy's fleet flying at her mast head. The English ships unmoored; and, having the tide with them, beat down the channel against a fresh gale of westerly wind: at four in the afternoon, the English fleet got sight of the French ships lying at anchor near Dungeness; but, as the tide was spent, they also were obliged to come to an anchor. While the two fleets were in this position, Marshal Saxe, who, with the young Pretender, had come to Dunkirk that very day, was embarking his troops as fast as possible. In the evening the wind changed to the east and blew a storm: the French ships, sensible of their inferiority, as soon as it was dark, cut their cables and ran down the channel. During the night, all the ships of the English fleet, (two excepted) parted their cables and drove. Both the fleets were far enough from Dunkirk; and, if the weather had been moderate, Marshal Saxe might have reached England before Sir John Norris could have returned to the Downs. But when the storm rose it stopped the embarkation; several transports were wrecked; a good many soldiers and seamen perished: and a great quantity of warlike stores was lost. The English fleet returned to the Downs, and the French troops were withdrawn from the coast.

This attempt to invade Britain occasioned the declarations of war made by both nations in the month of March in the year 1744; for though they had been actually at war for some time, and the battle of Det-

tingen* had been fought, there was no declaration of war till France attempted to invade Britain in favour of the Pretender.

After the long projected design of invasion miscarried, Charles retired to Graveline, where he lived very privately all the summer of the year 1744, calling himself the Chevalier Douglas.

Meanwhile he solicited the French ministers, by an agent, who was called Lord Semple, to resume their purpose, and fulfil the engagements of Cardinal Fleury. In the beginning of winter, Charles went to Paris to enforce his solicitations; but, not being able to procure any positive assurance of immediate aid, he became extremely impatient, and began to talk among his confidants of going to Scotland, without any assistance from France.

About this time Murray of Broughton went to Paris once more, at the desire of his friends in Scotland, who thought (as he says†) that it was absolutely necessary for them to know upon what footing things really were. When Murray came to Paris, he was introduced to Charles, and desired to see him in private, which he did next day, and had a long conversation with him. Charles mentioned the association of the Highland chiefs, and said he did not doubt that the king of France intended to invade Britain; but that he himself was determined at all events to come to Scotland, even without assistance from France. Murray endeavoured to shew him that such an undertaking was desperate; and assured him that if he came to the Highlands without a body of regular troops, very few people would join him. Notwithstanding Murray's arguments, Charles insisted upon coming to Scotland. When Murray returned to Edinburgh, he gave his friends an account of his conference with Charles; and all of them (the Duke of

* The British troops that landed on the Continent in the year 1742, with 16,000 Hanoverians, and 6,000 Hessians, in British pay, joined the Austrian army as allies to the Queen of Hungary, and marching into Germany, fought the battle of Dettingen, on the 16th of June, in the year 1743.

† Murray's evidence. *Lord Lovat's Trial*, p. 79 and 80.

Perth excepted) declared against the design of coming to Scotland without assistance from France. Upon which Murray wrote a letter to Charles, acquainting him with the opinion of his friends, and setting forth the bad consequence of such an undertaking. This letter was sent off in the month of January, in the year 1745; but as the safe conveyance of treasonable letters is very difficult, Charles never received the letter; and it was returned to Murray* in the month of April.

Matters continued in this state of fluctuation and uncertainty till the beginning of the month of May, 1745, when an event happened which determined Charles to proceed; that event was the battle of Fontenoy, (May 11th, N. S.) where the British troops, behaving with incomparable valour, were overpowered by numbers, and cut in pieces. Fame did not diminish the havock of that day; and Charles concluding that, from an army so much weakened, and still pressed by Count Saxe, no troops could be spared to oppose his progress in Britain, resolved to embrace so favourable an opportunity of trying what he could do in a country where he believed he had many friends, and no formidable enemies but the regular troops, whose number he knew was inconsiderable.

When the French ministers were made acquainted with this peremptory resolution, they did not choose to commit themselves, by appearing openly to aid and abet an enterprise which they were not prepared to support. But, willing to procure a diversion in favour of their master's arms, they contrived, in a very underhand and indirect manner, to enable Charles to leave France as he did. There happened to be then in Paris two merchants named Ruttledge and Walsh, both of Irish extraction, the sons of refugees who had followed the fortune of James the Second. Ruttledge was settled at Dunkirk, and Walsh at Nantz: they had made some money before the war began, by trading to the West Indies; but when war was declared between France and Britain, they became ad-

* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 80.

venturers in privateering, and had been concerned in several armaments. Still extending their views and operations, they had obtained from the Court of France a grant of an old man of war of 60 guns, called the *Elizabeth*: they had purchased a frigate of 16 guns, called the *Doutelle*, and were equipping these vessels for a cruize in the north seas, to intercept some of the valuable ships, that in time of war came north about to England. Lord Clare, a lieutenant-general in the service of France, (afterwards Marshal Thomond,) was acquainted with these gentlemen, and knew the state of their armament: he introduced them to Charles Stuart, and proposed that they should lend their ships to him, for a more splendid expedition, and carry their Prince to Scotland. The two Irishmen not only agreed to lend him their ships, but engaged to furnish him with all the money and arms they could procure. Lord Clare undertook to raise 100 marines, which he did, and put them on board the *Elizabeth*. When every thing was ready Charles came from Paris to Nantz; and on the 20th of June, leaving Nantz in a fishing boat, went aboard the *Doutelle*, at St. Nazaire, and was joined by the *Elizabeth*, near Belleisle. In the two ships were about 2000 muskets, and five or six hundred French broad swords. Charles had with him in the *Doutelle*, which was commanded by Walsh, a sum of money somewhat less than L.4000*. Such were the preparations made for an expedition, which it was easy to keep secret, for nobody could possibly believe that it was intended against the government of Britain.

The course which the seamen proposed to steer for the Highlands of Scotland, was by the *Æbudæ*, or Western Isles. They had not proceeded far in their voyage, when they met an English man of war of 60 guns, called the *Lyon*, commanded by Captain Brett (afterwards Sir Percy.) The *Lyon* and *Elizabeth* engaged: and after a very obstinate fight, the two ves-

* The sum of money furnished by Walsh and Rutledge to Charles, was 38,800*l.* which the old Pretender repaid some years after by a bill drawn upon John Haliburton, at Duunkirk, in favour of Rutledge.

sels separated both greatly disabled : the Elizabeth was so much shattered, that with difficulty she regained the port whence she came. Charles, in the Doutelle, pursued his course. As he approached the coast of Scotland, another large ship (which was supposed to be an English man of war) appearing between his vessel and the land, the Doutelle, (then off the south end of the Long Island) changed her course, and ranging along the east side of Barra, came to an anchor between South Uist and Erisca, which is the largest of a cluster of small rocky islands that lie off South Uist. Charles immediately went ashore on Erisca. His attendants giving out that he was a young Irish priest, conducted him to the house of the tacksman who rented all the small islands ; of him they learned that Clanronald, and his brother Boisdale, were upon the island of South Uist ; that young Clanronald was at Moidart upon the main land. A messenger was immediately dispatched to Boisdale, who is said to have had great influence with his brother. Charles staid all night on the island Erisca, and, in the morning, returned to his ship. Boisdale came aboard soon after : Charles proposed that he should go with him to the main land, assist in engaging his nephew to take arms, and then go, as his ambassador, to Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod. To every one of these proposals Boisdale gave a flat negative, declaring that he would do his utmost to prevent his brother and his nephew from engaging in so desperate an enterprise ; assuring Charles, that it was needless to send anybody to Sky, for that he had seen Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod very lately, and was desired by them to acquaint him, (if he should come to South Uist, in his way to the Highlands,) that they were determined not to join him, unless he brought over with him a body of regular troops. Charles replied in the best manner he could ; and ordering the ship to be unmoored, carried Boisdale (whose boat hung at the stern) several miles onward to the main land, pressing him to relent, and give a better answer. Boisdale was inexorable, and getting into his boat, left Charles to pursue his course, which

he did directly for the coast of Scotland ; and coming to an anchor in the Bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig, sent a boat ashore with a letter to young Clanronald. In a very little time Clanronald, with his relation Kinloch Moidart, came aboard the *Doutelle*. Charles, almost reduced to despair in his interview with Boisdale, addressed the two Highlanders with great emotion, and summing up his arguments for taking arms, conjured them to assist their Prince, their countryman, in his utmost need. Clanronald, and his friend, though well-inclined to the cause, positively refused ; and told him (one after another) that, to take arms without concert or support, was to pull down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored. During this conversation, the parties walked backwards and forwards upon the deck : a Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, as was then the fashion of his country : he was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was aboard ; when he gathered, from their discourse, that the stranger was the Prince of Wales : when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their prince, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and grasped his sword. Charles observed his demeanour, and turning briskly towards him, called out, Will not you assist me ? I will, I will, said Ranald, though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you. Charles, with a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, saying, he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. Without farther deliberation, the two Macdonalds declared that they also would join, and use their utmost endeavours to engage their countrymen to take arms. Immediately Charles, with his company, went ashore, and was conducted to Boradale, a farm which belonged to the estate of Clanronald. The persons who landed with Charles at Boradale on the 25th of July, were the Marquis of Tullibardine, (elder brother of James, duke of Athole) who had been attaint-

ed in the year 1716 ; Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles ; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service ; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman ; Kelly, a clergyman, who had been sent to the Tower of London for his concern in the Bishop of Rochester's plot ; Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, who was Kinloch Moidart's brother ; and Buchanan, the messenger sent to Rome by Cardinal De Tencin.

CHAP. III.

Charles at Boradale—His Interview with Locheil—Resolves to erect his Standard—Commencement of Hostilities—Sir John Cope—His Correspondence with the Secretary of State—Marches towards Fort Augustus—The Rebels take post on his way to the Fort—Sir John changes his Route—The Rebels advance to the Southward—Alarm at Edinburgh—Condition of the City—The Rebels take possession of Perth—Petition of the Citizens of Edinburgh for Leave to take Arms—The Petition granted—Observations.

IT is impossible to imagine an abode more suitable to the circumstances and designs of Charles than Boradale, which is one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the Highlands of Scotland, surrounded on every side by the territories of those chiefs, who, in former times, had fought the battles of the family of Stuart. From this retreat, Charles dispatched messengers to the chiefs from whom he expected assistance. The first chief that came to Charles at Boradale, was Cameron of Locheil. Donald Cameron, called by the Highlanders young Locheil, (for his father was still alive, but attainted and in exile,) had

succeeded, in the year 1719, to his grandfather, Sir Ewen Cameron, (of whom so many marvellous stories are told by his countrymen at this day.) Educated in the principles of his ancestors, Locheil was devoted, like them, to the family of Stuart; and the old Pretender had conceived so great an opinion of the character and influence of this chief, that, in the year 1729*, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, in which he gives him full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as he thought might be trusted, and settle every thing that concerned his affairs. The Jacobites in the Highlands, and in the Lowlands of Scotland, were acquainted with the contents of this letter, and had recourse upon every occasion to Cameron of Locheil. He was one of the seven who, in the year 1740, signed the association which Drummond of Bochaldy carried to the old Pretender at Rome; and when the court of France, after the disaster at Dunkirk, withheld their aid, he was one of those who sent over Murray to dissuade Charles from coming to Scotland without a body of foreign troops; and he was not a little troubled when he received a letter from Charles, acquainting him that he was come to the Highlands, and desired to see him immediately. Locheil complied with the request of the letter. He was no sooner arrived at Boradale than Charles and he retired by themselves.

The conversation began on the part of Charles, with bitter complaints of the treatment he had received from the ministers of France, who had so long amused him with vain hopes, and deceived him with false promises; their coldness in his cause, he said, but ill

* The old Pretender wrote to Locheil more than once with his own hand. The first letter (dated in the year 1727) was written to Locheil, before he left Paris to go to the Highlands. In this letter James praises his zeal and loyalty, and assures him of his particular regard. The second letter, in which he gives him powers to treat with his friends in Scotland, is dated Albano, October 3, 1729. The former of these letters has been preserved, but the original of the second letter is lost; an extract or copy of it remains.

agreed with the opinion he had of his own pretensions, and with that impatience to assert them with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Locheil acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were no ways binding, as he had come over without the stipulated aid; and therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France, and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow Locheil's advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come: that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army: that in Scotland there were only a few new raised regiments, that had never seen service, and could not stand before the Highlanders: that the very first advantage gained over the troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves: that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance: that he only wanted the Highlanders to begin the war.

Locheil still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till he (Locheil) and his other friends should meet together, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered, that he was determined to put all to the hazard. In a few days, (said he,) with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Locheil, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince. No, said Locheil, I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power. Such was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war. For it is a

point agreed * among the Highlanders, that if Loch-eil had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

It was otherwise decreed. After Locheil had consented to raise his men, and join the standard, letters were written from Boradale, and signed by Charles, (bearing date the 6th of August,) acquainting the chiefs on the main land, that the standard was to be erected at Glenfinnin, on the 19th of August, and requiring their presence there on the 19th, or as soon as possible thereafter. Young Clanronald undertook to go to the Isle of Sky, and inform Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of the rendezvous, and solicit them to join.

Locheil returned to his own house, and sent messengers through Lochaber, and the adjacent countries, where his Camerons lived, requiring his chieftains to prepare, and hold their men in readiness to march to Glenfinnin with their chief. The same notice was given to their people by the other chiefs who intend-

* It is no less certain, though not so generally known, that Locheil left his own house, determined (as he thought) not to take arms: in his way to Boradale, he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who came out immediately, and asked—What was the matter that had brought him there at so early an hour? Locheil told him that the Prince was landed at Boradale, and had sent for him. Fassefern asked, What troops the Prince had brought with him? what money? what arms? Locheil answered, that he believed the Prince had brought with him neither troops, nor money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making a rash attempt. Fassefern approved his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any further on the way to Boradale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by letter. No, said Locheil, I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons for declining to join him, which admit of no reply. Brother, said Fassefern, I know you better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases. Fassefern, in the year 1781, repeated the conversation between him and his brother to the author of this History.

ed to join the standard: but before the day of rendezvous came, some of the Camerons, and their neighbours the Macdonalds of Keppoch, spying an opportunity of attacking a detachment of the King's troops with advantage, these ready warriors of their own accord began the war. As the circumstances of the first encounter strongly mark the state of the Highlands when the rebellion broke out, it seems not improper to give a particular account of them.

The governor of Fort Augustus concluding from the reports which he heard, that the Highlanders were hatching some mischief, sent, upon the 16th of August, two additional companies of the first regiment of foot, to reinforce the garrison of Fort William *. The distance between these fortresses is twenty-eight English miles, and the road, called the Military Road, (as it was made by the King's troops,) is carried on for two-thirds of the way, having a tract of high mountains on one side, and the lakes Loch Oich and Loch Lochie on the other. These lakes are separated by a narrow isthmus. Within eight miles of Fort-William, stands High Bridge, built over the river Spean, a torrent which, confined by high and steep banks, and dashing amongst stones and rocks, is extremely difficult to pass but by the bridge. Captain John Scott, (afterwards General Scott,) who commanded the two companies †, had set out with them very early in the morning of the 16th, that he might reach Fort William the same day, for there are no quarters upon that road for any number of men. Captain Scott had left the lakes behind him, and was near High Bridge, when he heard a bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge skipping and leaping about with swords and firelocks

* Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George (called also the Castle of Inverness,) formed the chain of forts which had reached from the east to the west sea. The country between Fort William and Inverness is one of the wildest parts of the Highlands, and was then inhabited altogether by the disaffected Clans.

† The two companies Captain Scott commanded, were the two additional companies of the second battalion of the Royals, and consisted altogether of new raised men.

in their hands. The captain ordered his men to halt, and sent a serjeant with his own servant, to learn who these people were. When the messenger came near the bridge, two nimble Highlanders darted out, seized them both, and carried them to the party at the bridge. Captain Scott, ignorant of the number of his enemies, (for the Highlanders shifting their ground, shewed themselves in different places,) and knowing that he was in a part of the country where the inhabitants were extremely disaffected to government, he thought it more prudent to retreat, than to commence hostilities. Accordingly he ordered his men to face about, and march back again. The Highlanders who had taken post at the bridge, were not above eleven or twelve men, assembled and commanded by Macdonald of Tierndreich, who had for some time observed the march of the troops, and had sent expresses * to Lochiel and Keppoch to demand assistance. When the soldiers turned their backs, the Highlanders did not follow them immediately, but kept at a distance, (to conceal the smallness of their number,) till the troops had got about two miles from High Bridge, for the ground so far is somewhat plain and open; but as soon as the soldiers had passed the west end of Loch Lochie, and were got a little way upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain, the Highlanders made their appearance, and ascending the hill, where there was shelter both of trees and rocks, began to fire at the soldiers, who still marched on with great expedition. The number of the Highlanders increased every moment; for the report of the pieces was heard far and wide, and the people from every quarter flew to arms. Captain Scott having reached the east end of Loch Lochie, descried some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, and not liking their appearance, crossed the isthmus between the lakes, intending to take possession of Invergarry, a place of some strength, which belonged to Macdonald of Glengary. He had

* The houses of these chiefs were within three or four miles of High Bridge.

not marched far, when he saw another body of Highlanders (who were the Macdonalds of Glengary) coming down the hill to oppose him. Captain Scott formed the hollow square, and marched on. The pursuers, joined by Macdonald of Keppoch, and a party of his men, came up very fast. Keppoch advanced alone, and called out to the troops to surrender, offering them good quarter; and assuring them, that if they attempted to resist they would be cut in pieces. The soldiers, surrounded on every side, laid down their arms. The affair was scarcely over, when Locheil, with a body of his Camerons, arrived, took charge of the prisoners, and carried them to his house at Achnacarie. In this scuffle one or two of the soldiers were killed, and Captain Scott himself was wounded.

The Highlanders did not lose a single man; and their success in this first essay had no small effect in raising their spirits, and encouraging them to rebel. Charles having staid at Boradale, till young Clanronald, who had been sent to the Isle of Sky, returned with an unfavourable answer from Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod: he then proceeded to Kinlochmoidart, and remained there till the 18th of August, when he went by water to Glenaladale, upon the side of Loch Sheal. In the morning of the 19th, Charles, with his attendants, who were not more than twenty or twenty-five, (Clanronald being left behind in his own country to raise men,) set out for Glenfinnin in three boats, and landed about mid-day at the east end of the lake, where the small river Finnin runs into Loch Sheal.

Glenfinnin is a narrow vale, in which the river Finnin runs between high and craggy mountains, not to be surmounted but by travellers on foot. At each end of the glen is a lake about twelve miles in length; and behind the mountains on both sides of the glen, are other two lakes*, nearly of the same length. When Charles landed in the glen, Locheil and his

* One of these lakes is an arm of the sea, which the Highlanders call a salt-water loch.

Camerons were not to be seen. Anxious for the arrival of this great auxiliary, Charles entered one of the hovels, which still stand there, and waited for about two hours. At last Locheil with his men appeared on the top of the hill.

The Camerons advanced in two lines (each of them three men deep). Between the lines were the soldiers taken on the 16th, marching as prisoners without their arms. Charles, elevated with the sight of such a clan (for the Camerons are said to have been 700 or 800 men that day, many of them without arms), proceeded immediately to erect the standard.

The Marquis of Tullibardine unfurled the * standard; and, supported by a man on each side, held the staff till the manifest and commission of regency were read, both dated at Rome, December, 1743.

In an hour or two after this solemnity, Macdonald of Keppoch arrived with about 300 men. In the evening of the same day, some gentlemen of the name of Macleod came to Glenfinnin, who disclaimed their chief, and offered themselves to return to the Isles, and raise all the men they could for the service of their Prince.

The same day that the standard was erected at Glenfinnin, Sir John Cope, Commander in Chief for Scotland, left Edinburgh, to put himself at the head of his troops, which he had been for some time drawing together near Stirling, that they might be in readiness whenever it was thought proper to march, and put a stop to the progress of the rebels.

From the beginning of summer there had been a report flying through the Highlands, that Prince Charles intended to come over that season; but the King's servants at Edinburgh heard nothing of it till the 2d of July, when the President of the Court of Session came to Sir John Cope, and shewed him a letter from a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands, acquainting him with a report current there,

* The standard erected at Glenfinnin was made of white, blue, and red silk; and when displayed was about twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours.

that the Pretender's eldest son was to land somewhere in the Highlands that summer, in order to attempt an insurrection; that though the writer of the letter gave no credit to the report, he thought it his duty to acquaint the President of it. The President assured Sir John Cope, that he agreed in opinion with the gentleman, and held the report to be groundless, but thought it necessary to let the Commander in Chief know that there was such a report.

Qualified in this manner, and quoted as not likely to be true, the first intelligence of the young Pretender's design was conveyed by Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State. From the time that Sir John Cope wrote this letter to the Marquis of Tweeddale, which is dated July 2d, there appears in the correspondence* between them, a continual apprehension on Sir John Cope's part, of invasion and insurrection, with an anxiety to prepare and provide against them; but almost every precaution which General Cope suggested, the Lords of the Regency† declined to take, lest they should alarm his Majesty's subjects too much, at a time when they themselves apprehended no immediate danger. However, their Lordships began very soon to apprehend there was some danger; for on the 30th of July the Marquis of Tweeddale wrote to Sir John Cope, and acquainted him, that several informations had been laid before the Lords Justices, importing, that the French Court was meditating an invasion of His Majesty's dominions; that the Pretender's eldest son had sailed from Nantz in a French man of war, and was actually landed in Scotland, which last part (says the Marquis) I can hardly believe to be true. Letters of the same date were written to Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, and to the King's Advocate, communicating to them the same intelligence, and enjoined

* See the Correspondence, of which this letter (dated July 2d) is the first. Cope's Trial, p. 105.

† The King was at Hanover, and did not return to England till the 31st of August.

ing his Majesty's servants to consult and concert together, what was best to be done, to make the strictest inquiry into the *subject matter of this intelligence*, and to transmit to the Marquis constant accounts of any discovery they should make.

Without waiting an answer from Scotland to these letters (which had been sent by express to Edinburgh, and arrived there on the 3d of August,) the Lords Justices published a proclamation in the London Gazette, August 6th, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person or persons that should seize and secure the Pretender's eldest son, who, as their Lordships were informed, had embarked for Britain. Before the proclamation reached Edinburgh, it was known there that the Pretender's son had landed in the Highlands. For on the 8th of August, an express came from the Lord Justice Clerk at Roseneath *, to the Commander in Chief at Edinburgh, with intelligence that the young Pretender was landed in Arasaig ; that part of the Clan Macdonald were already in arms, and that other Highlanders were preparing to join them. The papers which contained this intelligence, Sir John Cope forwarded by express to the Marquis of Tweedale at London.

On the 9th of August, the Lord President called upon Sir John Cope, and acquainted him with the contents of a letter which he had received, by express, from the same gentleman who formerly had given him information of the young Pretender's design of coming to the Highlands.

The letter bore, that the young pretender was upon the coast : and mentioned several persons by name who were said to be with him.

This account coinciding with the intelligence from Roseneath, received no small degree of confirmation from the President's opinion, who told Sir John Cope that he believed it to be true.

* Roseneath is a seat of the Duke of Argyle in Dumbartonshire, where he usually staid some time in his way to Inverary. The Duke and Lord Milton were there, when they received information that Charles was landed in the Highlands.

Such was the state of intelligence (communicated only to His Majesty's principal servants, civil and military,) when the Gazette with the proclamation arrived. From that moment every body spake of nothing but the young Pretender, though very few people knew what to believe about him.

One day it was confidently affirmed that he had landed in one of the Western Islands with ten thousand French: the very next day it was asserted with equal confidence, that he had landed in the Highlands without any troops; but that wherever he came, the Highlanders to a man had taken arms.

In opposition to both these reports, we were assured that Charles was still in France, and had not the least intention of coming to Britain.

This last account was industriously propagated for some time by the Jacobites, and their friends who were in the secret, and had early notice that Charles was really come; but affecting to believe the contrary, they endeavoured to make the Commander in Chief and his preparations appear ridiculous, not only by their talk, but by sending him anonymous letters, containing most absurd articles of intelligence, which they afterwards circulated, with comments sufficiently scurrilous.

Sir John Cope, Commander in Chief during these alarms, was one of those ordinary men who are fitter for any thing than the chief command in war, especially when opposed, as he was, to a new and uncommon enemy; and, like every man of that character, extremely solicitous that nothing might be laid to his charge, he resolved to propose the most vigorous measures. Accordingly in his letters to the Secretary of State, (dated the 9th and 10th of August,) he proposed to march his troops into the Highlands, to seek out the rebels, and try to check their progress. The Marquis of Tweedale, in his answer to these letters, tells Sir John Cope, that the Lords of the Regency entirely approve of his conduct, and are particularly pleased with his resolution of marching into the Highlands, with as many troops as he could assemble: that their Lordships were of opinion, that

as soon as he should receive intelligence where any number of the disaffected were in arms, he should immediately attack them. And, indeed, their Lordships were so much pleased with this vigorous resolution of marching into the Highlands, that when they understood the march had been delayed only for a day or two, they sent down an express with positive orders to Sir John Cope to march forthwith, and execute the plan laid down in his letter of the 10th, notwithstanding any report of the landing of troops, and notwithstanding any actual disembarkation of troops. The King's army in Scotland, to whose commander these peremptory orders came, consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, both horse and foot, (one old corps excepted *,) the youngest regiments of the British army. Besides these forces, there were in Scotland nine additional companies that had been lately raised there, for the national regiments serving abroad: there were also several companies almost complete, of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, for which the levies were carrying on all over the North. Of the nine additional companies, two had fallen into the hands of the rebels, as has been mentioned; most of the other companies had been draughted, and were so weak as not to exceed twenty-five men a company. Lord Loudon's men were scattered about in different parts of the North Country, and had not received their arms.

Sir John Cope arriving at Stirling on the 19th of August, next day began his march to the North, and proceeded by Crieff and Tay Bridge, along the Highland road towards Fort Augustus, the place which he himself had pointed out as the most advantageous

* The old regiment was Guise's, No. 6, raised in the year 1673, which was dispersed among the forts and barracks in the north. The three young regiments were, Lee's the 44th, of which five companies were in Berwick, and five in Scotland, Murray's the 46th, and Lascelles's the 47th, all of them raised in the year 1741. The two regiments of dragoons were Gardner's and Hamilton's, the 13th and 14th, both raised in the year 1715, but had never seen any service.

post to be occupied by the King's army, being one of the forts that formed the chain. The troops with which the general undertook this expedition, consisted altogether of infantry, for cavalry being judged unserviceable in so rough a country, where it was not easy to subsist them, one of the regiments of dragoons was left at Leith, and the other at Stirling. With twenty-five companies of foot, whose number did not exceed 1400 men, with four field pieces, (one and a half pounders,) as many cohorns, with a great number of carts and horses, carrying provisions, baggage, and 300 stand of arms, the General * arrived at Dalnacardoch on the 25th of August. At Dalnacardoch he was informed that the rebels intended to meet him at Corryarrak, in his way to Fort Augustus. The person who brought him this intelligence was Captain Sweetnam of Guise's regiment, who, being at the barrack of Ruthven with his company, had received an order from Sir John Cope before he left Edinburgh to go to Fort William, and take the command of three companies of Guise's regiment which were in garrison there. In his way to the fort he was taken prisoner by the rebels on the 14th, at a place called Letter Finlay, half way between Fort Augustus and Fort William: with the rebels he remained some days; was carried to Glenfinnin, where he saw the standard erected on the 19th; and giving his parole, was dismissed on the 21st. Captain Sweetnam told the General, that when he left the rebels, their number did not exceed 1400 men: that upon the road he met several parties going towards them, and had heard at Dalwhinnie that they were 3000 strong.

From Dalnacardoch, Sir John Cope, with his army, advanced to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th, and received a letter by express from the Pre-

* When Sir John Cope left Stirling, he carried with him 1000 stand of spare arms, expecting to be joined in his march by a number of well-affected Highlanders, but when he came to Crieff, nobody having joined him, he sent back 700 stand of arms to Stirling.

sident of the Court of Session, confirming Captain Sweetnam's account of the intention of the rebels to meet him upon Corryarrak, and give him battle.

Corryarrak is an immense mountain, that lies directly in the way from Stirling to Fort Augustus, and occupies no less than nine miles of eighteen, that make the whole of the last day's march, from Garvamore to Fort Augustus. Sir John Cope, and his army at Dalwhinnie, were thirteen miles from Garvamore, and twenty-two miles from the beginning of the ascent to Corryarrak, which on the south side is extremely steep, and, when seen from a distance, seems to rise almost perpendicular like a wall. The military road is carried up to the summit of this mountain by seventeen traverses: the long descent to the level ground on the north side, (where Fort Augustus stands,) is carried on by traverses, somewhat like those on the south side, and passes through several glens and valleys with brooks and gullies, over which bridges are thrown to facilitate the way. Of these dangerous places General Cope was warned, and advised by the President to beware.

At Dalwhinnie, surrounded with hills, from which Corryarrak may be seen, a council of war was called, to which the General summoned every field officer, and every commander of a separate corps, in his little army. He laid before them the Secretary of State's positive orders, and the different accounts he had received of the number and intention of the rebels. The Council of War having considered the matter, were unanimously of opinion, that the march to Fort Augustus by Corryarrak was impracticable; and being asked by the General what was most proper to be done, gave it as their opinion, that it was more expedient, and more agreeable to the Secretary of State's orders, to march to Inverness, (the only part of the chain which the General and his army could reach,) than to remain where they were, or to return to Stirling. When the Council of War came to this resolution at Dalwhinnie, the rebel army was at Abercaldier, on the north side of Corryarrak. The distance between Glenfinnin and Corryarrak is about

forty miles: the Highlanders, informed of Sir John Cope's preparations by their friends in the south, and of his motions, (whenever he began to move,) by deserters * from his army, left Glenfinnin on the 21st of August, and ordered their marches and halts so as to be joined in their way to Corryarrak by those clans, on whose immediate assistance they depended. Accordingly the Macdonalds of Clanronald, who were about 300 men, came up with them at the head of Lochail, (which is about five miles from Glenfinnin,) accompanied by 250 Camerons, who had been sent from Glenfinnin to Castle Tyrim, in Clanronald's country, to bring up 500 firelocks and some French broad-swords, which had been landed from the Dou-telle, and deposited there.

The Stuarts of Appin, who were about 280, joined them at Low Bridge; and the Macdonnells of Glen-gary, who, with the Grants of Glenmoriston, are said to have been 400 men, joined them in the evening of the 26th at Aberchaloder, near the foot of Corryarrak. Next morning, before break of day, the Highlanders began to ascend Corryarrak; and marching to the summit of the mountain, halted there, and waited the approach of the King's army.

Sir John Cope, acquiescing in the opinion of the Council of War, (which was delivered to him in writing, signed by all the members,) marched his army on the 27th towards Garvamore; but when the van reached Blarigg Beg †, and the rear was at Catlaig, where the road to Inverness turns off from the military road to Fort Augustus, the troops were ordered to halt, to face about, and take the road to Inverness

* Besides the two additional companies of the 42d regiment who were with Sir John Cope when he marched from Stirling, forty men of Lord Loudon's regiment had joined him at Tay Bridge, many of whom, as well as the men of the 42d, belonged to the clans in the rebel army; and some of them, in Sir John Cope's march to the north, deserted every night with their arms.

† Blarigg Beg is seven miles and a half from Dalwhinnie, and five miles and a half from Garvamore. Two rowan trees (mountain ash) mark the place where Sir John Cope's army faced about, and avoided an action with the rebels.

by Ruthven. No sooner did the troops turn their backs to the enemy, than a common soldier (whose name was Cameron) deserted, and carried the news to his friends upon the hill. The Highlanders immediately put themselves in motion, and marched down the traverses with the hasty steps of men who gave chase. When they came to Garvamore, various proposals were made for improving their advantage, by pursuing the enemy, or getting between them and Inverness, by cutting across the country; but none of these proposals were accepted. The counsellors of Charles agreed to march to the southward, and fall down into the Low Country, hoping to get possession of Edinburgh, before the General and his army returned from the North. In this manner did Sir John Cope execute his plan of marching into the Highlands; and thus did he obey the positive orders of the Secretary of State, to seek out the rebels where-soever they were, and attack them immediately. The reason given by Sir John Cope for proposing to march into the Highlands, was, that he expected to be joined in his march by a number of well-affected Highlanders; but was disappointed; for no Highlanders joined him in his march to Inverness. The reason given for declining the battle offered him at Corryarrak was, that the rebels had assembled a great number of men in a much shorter time than he expected.

These expectations and disappointments seemed good reasons, and satisfied the Board of General Officers appointed to examine into his conduct*; but the Jacobites, some of whom are still alive, give a very different account of the matter, which agrees much better with what really happened. The Pretender's friends at Edinburgh, informed of the difficulties un-

* Sir John Cope was not tried by a court-martial, but a Board of General Officers was appointed to examine into his proceedings. This Board asked him what questions they thought proper; and examined a number of witnesses, who had not only marched with him to Inverness, but had been at the battle of Preston; and, upon the whole, the general officers were of opinion that Sir John Cope's behaviour was unblameable.—Report, page 104.

der which Charles laboured for want of money, were very apprehensive, that he would not be able to keep the Highlanders together, if Sir John Cope remained at Stirling with his army, and confined the rebels to the north ; but they were persuaded, that if he marched his army into the Highlands, Charles, with his Highlanders, might find an opportunity of fighting him with advantage, or might give him the slip, and fall down into the Low Country. To effectuate this change of circumstances they had recourse to a piece of address.

Sir John Cope, they knew, had no opinions of his own, and was very ready to borrow those of other people : so they contrived that he should be told by some of the talking people who had access to him, that nothing was so favourable to the Pretender as the inactivity of the Commander in Chief, who kept his troops at Stirling, and allowed the Highlanders to assemble without molestation ; whereas, if he should march his army into the Highlands, the rebels would be obliged to disperse ; for they were not in a condition to give him battle. This sort of language, held often in Sir John Cope's presence, made such an impression upon him, that he sent an express to London, with the proposal of marching into the Highlands, which the Lord Justices highly approved, and ordered him to march in terms more positive than the General desired.

This account of the matter, from its nature, could not be brought as evidence at the trial of General Cope, cannot be now authenticated, and is produced by the writer of this relation as an anecdote he believes to be true. When Sir John Cope left the direct road to Fort Augustus, he proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August. At Inverness he found the President, who having communicated to him at Edinburgh on the 9th of August, the intelligence he had received that the Pretender's son was landed in the Highlands, set out for the North that very day, and on the 13th arrived at his house of Culloden. A day or two after the President came home, he received a letter from

Sir Alexander Macdonald in the Isle of Sky, dated Talisker, August 11th, acquainting him that Macleod of Macleod and he had refused to join Charles.

The President, in his answer to Sir Alexander Macdonald, (which he says is the same thing as if he had wrote both to Macleod and him,) expresses the greatest satisfaction with his conduct, and informs him that Lord Lovat had been at Culloden; and when he heard that Macleod and he had refused to join Charles, declared his full purpose to be prudent, and follow their example. The President had good reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod, for they were two of the most powerful chiefs in the Highlands, whose ancestors had uniformly adhered to the interest of the family of Stuart; and their refusal to join Charles was likely to have the same effect upon many other people which it had upon Lord Lovat; and it had the same effect, for none of the persons with whom the President corresponded, joined Charles* till after the battle of Preston.

Sir John Cope, consulting with the President, applied to those chiefs in the neighbourhood who were thought most likely to procure for him a reinforcement of Highlanders, that he might march his army back to Stirling by land; but his applications proved ineffectual, and he was obliged soon after to take another course.

Meanwhile, that is from the 26th to the 31st of August, the people of Edinburgh knew nothing about the movements of the two armies; and many different reports prevailed. But on the evening of Saturday the 31st an express from Perthshire came to town, with an account that the King's army had taken the road to Inverness; that the Highlanders were advancing to the southward: and that the van of their army had got as far as Blair of Athol. Greatly were

* Amongst those persons with whom the President corresponded were the Earls of Sutherland and Cromarty, Lord Fortrose, Lord Reay, Lord Lovat, Sir Alexander Macdonald, Sir James Grant, Macleod, Mackintosh, and Chisholm.

the friends of government astonished, when they heard the King's army was gone to Inverness, and that the rebels were coming to Edinburgh. Till that change of position took place, (which has been compared to a figure in a country dance,) the insurrection of the Highlanders was looked upon as a sort of riot, which would easily be quelled by the King's troops, who were thought to be the only men in the kingdom that knew how to fight; but when this army of regular troops, that had marched so far to seek out the enemy, and give them battle, declined the combat, and left the rebels a free passage to the capital, then the affair began to be deemed somewhat serious, which certainly it had never been before.

Previous, however, to the arrival of bad news from the north, there had been a meeting of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, with some of the most considerable citizens, to consult and advise what was fit to be done, when the King's army was so far off, and the city so indifferently provided to defend itself.

Edinburgh had never been fortified; the castle, and a wall of unequal height, from ten or twelve, to eighteen or twenty feet high, shut in the city on three sides, and excluded the smugglers. On the north side there was no wall: the lake called the North Loch came up to the foot of the rock, on which the castle stands, and was the only defence on that side of the city. The town wall in some places was strengthened with bastions, and provided with embrasures, but there were no cannon mounted upon it; and for a considerable part of the circuit, it was no better than a garden wall, or park wall of unusual height. In several places it had been built upon, so that dwelling houses made part of the wall, and some of these houses were commanded by higher houses, opposite to them, and without the city: of such houses there was one continued row from the Cowgate port to the Nether Bow port*. Such was the condition of the walls of the city of Edinburgh; and

* The Scots call the gate of a town a port.

the condition of the men who might be called upon to defend them was pretty similar to that of the walls *.

The Magistrates still retained the name and form of their ancient militia, called the Trained Bands †, which consisted of sixteen companies, from sixty to one hundred men in a company: the men were enrolled, and the officers appointed from the burghers of the town, (merchants and craftsmen,) according to use and wont; but the trained bands had not appeared in arms since the Revolution, except on the King's birth-day, when they were furnished with arms for that day's service, from a magazine which belonged to the city, and contained about 1200 stand of arms, most of them without bayonets. Besides the trained bands, there was a company of foot, called the Town Guard, (armed with muskets and bayonets,) kept at the expence of the town, and under the orders of the Provost of Edinburgh.

Such was the condition of the walls, and the state of arms at Edinburgh on the 27th of August, when the meeting was held to consult and advise what was to be done. The meeting resolved to put the city in a proper state of defence, by repairing the walls, and raising a regiment of 1000 men to be paid by a voluntary contribution of inhabitants. The meeting also recommended to the Provost and

* The walls of Edinburgh were begun to be built in the reign of James the Second, but were not completed so as to inclose the town in the manner described, till the battle of Flodden, where James the Fourth fell with the flower of the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

† The Trained Bands of Edinburgh had been in former times a considerable body of men; they consisted of eight companies, each company 200 men or more, according to the number of people in that quarter of the town to which the company belonged. The tallest men were armed with pikes, and provided with defensive armour; the men of lower stature were armed with firelocks; and had also defensive armour. The captain of each company was appointed to lead out his men one day in every week to instruct them in the order of war, and the exercise of arms. *Maitland's History of Edinburgh*, p. 285.

Magistrates to name a standing committee of the Town Council, with the addition of some other citizens, to consult the Justice Clerk, the crown lawyers, and such of the judges as were in town, what other steps the community might legally take to frustrate the designs of His Majesty's enemies. The committee was named, and met with the judges and lawyers, who informed them that it was necessary to apply for His Majesty's warrant to raise a regiment*; and such an application was immediately prepared and forwarded to London by the King's advocate. So far the Committee had proceeded, and were waiting an answer from London to their application, when the news arrived that the King's army was gone to Inverness, and that the rebels were advancing towards Edinburgh. A few days after the arrival of this piece of news, Captain Rogers, Sir John Cope's aide-de-camp, came to town from Inverness with an order to General Guest to take up a number of transports at Leith, and send them to Aberdeen. Captain Rogers also brought letters from Sir John Cope to his Majesty's civil servants at Edinburgh, acquainting them that he intended to march his troops by land to Aberdeen, embark them there, and hasten to the relief of the city. This information was very welcome to the friends of government at Edinburgh, for notice had come to town the very day Captain Rogers arrived, which was the 4th of September, that on the 3d, a detachment of the rebel army had taken possession of Perth, which, by either of the ferries, is but forty miles from Edinburgh. On Friday the 6th of September, a petition to the Town Council, signed by about 100 citizens, was presented to Provost Stuart, praying that they might be authorized to associate as volunteers for the defence of the city: that they might be allowed to name their own officers;

* A statute of the first parliament of Charles the Second declares that the power of raising in arms the subjects of this kingdom, is the exclusive right of the King alone; and also declares that it shall be high treason for the subjects of this kingdom, or any number of them, less or more, upon any ground or pretext whatsoever, to rise in arms.

and that the Provost would apply to General Guest to furnish them with arms from the King's magazine in the castle of Edinburgh.

Provost Stuart ordered a Council to be summoned to meet on Saturday the 7th. Meanwhile he consulted the King's advocate and the solicitor, whether or not it was lawful for the council to grant the desire of the petition: these gentlemen gave their opinion in the most positive terms, that it was lawful for the Town Council of Edinburgh to authorize the inhabitants to take arms for the defence of the city. Upon * which Provost Stuart laid the petition before the Council, who immediately granted the prayers of the petitioners in every article, but that of naming their own officers, which was reserved to the Provost, as the right and privilege of his office.

After the account which has been given of the walls, and the trained bands of Edinburgh, it may appear somewhat extraordinary, that a few of the inhabitants of such a place should petition for leave to take arms, and defend their walls against a body of men from which the King's army had retreated with precipitation. At this part of the story it seems necessary to observe, that at the Michaelmas election of the magistrates and town council, in the year 1740, Mr. Stuart and his friends had got possession of the government of the city of Edinburgh, and from the time of that election they had governed without opposition; but the annual election of the council and magistrates was at hand. A great majority of the electors were Whigs, extremely zealous for the established government, and the defence of the city against the rebels. Nor is it less necessary to observe, that amongst those burgesses who framed and presented the petition for leave to take arms, were a good many old magistrates, provosts, bailies, and other

* The lawyers who gave this opinion, were the same persons who had informed the committee that it was necessary to apply for his Majesty's warrant to raise a regiment. The difference between raising a regiment of men and a body of volunteers, is not very obvious; and, by the words of the statute, his Majesty's warrant seems alike necessary for both.

office-bearers, whose place in the council, with their power in the city, Provost Stuart and his friends possessed.

CHAP. IV.

Preparations to defend the City—Transports sent for General Cope's Army—Notice that the Rebels had left Perth—Their March—Conduct of the Volunteers—The Highlanders advance towards Edinburgh—Retreat of the Dragoons—Consternation in the City—Meeting of the Magistrates and Citizens—Proceedings of the Meeting—Deputation sent to Charles—Notice that the Transports are off Dunbar—Return of the Deputies—Another Deputation sent out—The Deputies ordered to be gone—The Rebels get possession of the City.

THE petition having been granted on Saturday the 7th of September, a subscription * paper was lodged in the Old Church aisle on Monday the 9th, and all good subjects were invited by hand-bills to subscribe. The same day Provost Stuart produced in council, a warrant from His Majesty to the Town Council and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to raise a regiment of 1000 men for the defence of the city. The Council appointed Provost Stuart colonel, both of the regiment to be raised, and of the volunteers. Beating orders

* On the day the subscription paper was lodged, the author of this History came to Edinburgh, and meeting some of his companions in the streets, they shewed him one of the hand-bills, told him they had subscribed the association to take arms, and expected he would do the same, which he did; and when the companies were formed, served with his friends in the College company; was an eye-witness of every thing that passed during the few days the volunteers were in arms; and must acknowledge that he changed his mind more than once concerning the cause of those things that happened in his sight.

were issued, and the levy was begun immediately. The number of subscribers to the association increased so fast, that the same day the subscription paper was lodged, a letter was sent to the Provost signed by six old magistrates, (three of whom had been Provosts, and three of them Bailies,) praying his lordship to apply to General Guest for 200 stand of arms to the volunteers.

On the 10th the annual election began*, and the companies or incorporations of tradesmen were so much employed about the elections of their deacons, (which is one of the first steps of the Michaelmas elections,) that very few tradesmen could be got to work upon the walls, and the orders given for strengthening the defences of the town, according to a plan prepared by Mr. M'Laurin, were but ill obeyed. The same day a fleet of transports, escorted by a ship of war, sailed from Leith to Aberdeen, to bring back General Cope and his army. From the time that the ships sailed, the people of Edinburgh were continually looking up to the vanes and the weather-cocks, to see from what point the wind blew, and computing how soon they might expect the General and his army. On the day that the transports sailed, Provost Stuart desired the volunteers to prepare a list of twenty or thirty of their own number, whom they thought proper persons to command the companies, and that he would name the captains out of that list. The list was prepared immediately, and carried to the Provost by a deputation from the volunteers, who, when they presented it, desired that all of them might be furnished with arms as soon as possible. On the 11th, Provost Stuart named six captains†, and allow-

* The elections of Edinburgh are called so very properly, for they consist of many separate elections, carried on by a number of steps, which in the year 1745 began to be taken on the 10th of September, and never came to an end.

† The first captain named was George Drummond, formerly Provost of Edinburgh.

2d, Captain Archibald Macaulay, formerly Provost of Edinburgh.

3d, Captain Sir George Preston, Baronet.

ed each captain to appoint two lieutenants for his own company.

The same day cannon, to be mounted on the walls, were brought up from Leith, where, in time of war, there are always armed vessels.

On the 12th, the volunteers assembled in the College-yards, and were distributed into six companies: the private men choosing what captain they pleased to serve under.

That evening 200 stand of arms were brought down from the castle: a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box, were delivered to each volunteer that attended. The volunteers began immediately to toss their firelocks, and take a lesson from some serjeants and corporals (old soldiers) who had been procured to teach them the manual exercise.

Next day the volunteers were employed, morning and evening, in learning the most necessary parts of the exercise of arms.

On the 14th, they were employed in the same manner; and they had no time to lose, for before they received their arms the rebels had left Perth; and notice came to town on the 14th, that the Highland army, in the evening of the 13th, had crossed the river Forth, at the Ford of the Frew*, and marching on to the southward, till they passed the house of Boquhan, turned to the eastward, and took the straight road to Edinburgh.

This piece of intelligence came to town before the companies were dismissed from their exercise in the evening of the 14th; and an order was given that the serjeants and corporals should make into cartridges the powder and ball obtained from the castle, that ammunition might be ready to be delivered to the volunteers, who were ordered (all of them that had

4th, Captain James Nimmo, formerly Dean of Guild.

5th, Captain Alexander Blackwood, formerly a Baillie of Edinburgh.

6th, Captain James Ker, one of the Town Council, afterwards Member of Parliament for Edinburgh. Most of these gentlemen had signed the petition for leave to take arms.

* The Ford of the Frew is about eight miles to the west of Stirling.

arms *) to assemble in the College-yards next day, at nine o'clock in the morning. When this order was given, nobody knew how far the rebels had advanced on their way to Edinburgh: to them it is now time to return.

A detachment of the rebel army having entered the town of Perth on the 3d of September, as has been formerly mentioned, Charles, with the rest of his troops, joined them on the 4th, and remained there till the 11th. During his stay at Perth, (the length of which is said to have been owing to want of money†,) he sent parties to the neighbouring counties of Angus and Fife, who proclaimed the Pretender king in the most considerable towns, enlisted a few men, and levied the public money‡. At Perth James Drummond (commonly called Duke of Perth) and Lord George Murray, joined the standard, and were appointed lieutenant-generals of the Highland army. The Duke of Perth was grandson to the Earl of Perth, (Chancellor of Scotland, in the reign of James the Second,) who, adhering to the interests of James after the Revolution, followed him to France, and was created Duke of Perth. His grandson coming to Scotland some years before the Rebellion, was known there by no other name. Lord George Murray was next brother to James Duke of Athol, who by the death of one elder brother ||, and the attainder of an-

* Four hundred stand of arms had come down from the castle. The number of those who had signed the association was 418.

† Charles, when he came to Perth, had but one guinea, which he shewed to Kelly, (one of the seven that landed with him in the Highlands,) and said he would soon get more. Maxwell of Kirconnel, in his manuscript, says Kelly told him so.

‡ In the march from Glenfinnin to Perth, Charles gave the chiefs what money they thought necessary to subsist their men. During their abode at Perth, besides the public money which they levied, it is said that several persons, who afterwards joined them at Edinburgh, came to Perth to visit Charles, and furnished him with some money, which made his purse hold out till the rebel army took possession of Edinburgh; and after their arrival there they had regular pay.

|| John, Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of John, Duke of Athol, was killed at the battle of Malplaquet. William, Marquis of Tullibardine, succeeded him; and having joined the rebel army in the year 1715, was attainted the following year.

other, became Duke of Athol. Lord George Murray had been engaged in the Rebellion that broke out in the year 1715, and, with some Highlanders, had joined the Spaniards who were defeated at Glenshiel in the year 1719. After the action at Glenshiel, he went abroad, and was several years an officer in the king of Sardinia's army. Having obtained a pardon, by the interests of his friends at home, he returned to Britain, and was presented to the King by his brother the Duke of Athol. It is said that he offered his service to government, and solicited a commission in the army, but his offer was not accepted. While the rebel army lay at Perth, Robertson of Struan joined them with one hundred men; and the Duke of Perth brought in above two hundred men, whom he had raised in the adjacent country.

On the 11th of September, Charles left Perth at the head of a detachment of his army, and marched that day to Dumblane*, where he halted till the rest of his men came up, which they did in the evening of the 12th. On the 13th they moved again, directing their march towards the fords of the river Forth, for they could not cross the Firth where several of the King's ships were stationed, nor was it safe to pass at the bridge of Stirling, which is commanded by the cannon at the castle. When they came to the Ford of the Frew, they found no difficulty in crossing the river, for there had been an extraordinary drought, nor did they meet with any opposition from Colonel Gardner, who, with his regiment of dragoons, retired at their approach, still keeping between them and the city of Edinburgh.

The rebel army having crossed the Forth on the evening of the 13th, Charles lay that night at Leckie House, on the south side of the river. Next morning the army moved to the eastward, directing their march towards Edinburgh. As they passed within a

* In their march from Perth to Dumblane, Macdonald of Glenco came up with 60 men; the same number of his men had joined them in their march to Perth: and at a place called Conagan, not far from Dumblane, Macgregor of Glengyle came up with 255 Macgregors.

mile of the castle of Stirling, one or two cannon shot were fired at the standard, or, as it is said, at Charles, conspicuous by the crowd that attended him, but none of the shot took place.

Charles, with his army, proceeded to Falkirk; his men were quartered in the town; and he himself passed the night at Callender, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock. On Sunday the 15th, a detachment of 1000 Highlanders marched about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Lord George Murray, with a design to surprise Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons at Linlithgow, which is but eight miles from Falkirk. The Highlanders reached Linlithgow before break of day, but the dragoons were gone, having decamped the evening before. Lord George Murray, with his detachment, halted at Linlithgow, till Charles with the rest of his men came up. Then the whole army took the road to Edinburgh, which is only sixteen miles from Linlithgow. A messenger was dispatched to Edinburgh to give notice of the approach of the rebels, who, concluding that the Highlanders were at his heels, reported that the van of the rebels had got as far as Kirkliston, a village eight miles from Edinburgh.

When this report came to town, all the volunteers who had arms were assembled in the College-yards, according to an order given the night before. Their number amounted to 400. About ten o'clock Captain Drummond came to the College-yards: he was captain of the first company of volunteers, called the College Company, in which there were about twenty students of the University, and other young people; some of them farther advanced in their different professions, class-fellows, companions, and friends, who had agreed to join the same company, and serve together. Captain Drummond, after talking for some time with his brother officers, in the garden hall, came out to the volunteers, and walking along the front of his company, without speaking one word, placed himself directly opposite to the right, (where he saw some of his most forward volunteers,) then addressing himself to the company, he informed them of the

approach of the rebels, and acquainted them that it had been proposed to General Guest to make a stand with the two regiments of dragoons, and fight the rebels in their way to the city ; that the general objected to the measure, as there was not a body of foot to act with the dragoons, and draw off the enemy's fire ; that he (Mr. Drummond) had asked if 250 volunteers would be sufficient, as he could answer for so many, if Provost Stuart would allow fifty of the town guard to go along with them ; that the General answered, in his opinion, the number would be sufficient. Now, gentlemen, (said Mr. Drummond,) you have heard the General's opinion, judge for yourselves : if you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the capital of Scotland, and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field.

That instant the volunteers, upon whom he had fixed his eyes while he spoke, threw up their hats in the air, and began a huzza *, in which the company joined, and embraced the proposal.

Captain Drummond then went from company to company, and told them, that though his gentlemen were going out one and all, to conquer or die with him, yet such a resolution was not proper for every

* Several of those volunteers who began the huzza were not inhabitants of Edinburgh, and knew nothing about the elections or the cabals in the city : nor had they any sort of deference to the opinion of General Guest or Captain Drummond ; but some of their own number having carefully surveyed the walls on Saturday the 14th, reported to a meeting of their companions in the evening, that the walls they had undertaken to defend were not at all in good condition. This report made them consider, and forecast, as well as they could, what was likely to happen in such a place as Edinburgh, when attempted by storm ; so that when Captain Drummond made his speech to the company, they stood prepared by their own reflections, to accept the proposal of marching out with the dragoons, as the best thing they could possibly do : hoping, and encouraging one another to hope, that the two regiments of dragoons, (whose prowess nobody doubted,) with what assistance they could give, might break the force of the rebel army ; and leave to the Highlanders, if victorious, a bloody and fatal victory.

person who had taken arms to defend the city : that it was most suitable to young men not connected with families, and at liberty to dispose of their own lives. Most part of the volunteers in every company, (Captain Drummond's company excepted,) had no mind to march out of town, and some of them murmured at the proposal ; but the voice of Captain Drummond's company was loudest, and seemed to prevail. A messenger was dispatched to acquaint General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons, and engage the rebels. General Guest sent a gentleman to desire Provost Stuart that he would give orders for fifty men of the town guard to join the volunteers. Provost Stuart, who had not heard a word of the matter till he received the general's message, was extremely surprised ; but, recollecting himself, and listening to an admonition given him by Bailie Robert Baillie, who said that he thought fifty of the town guard could not be better employed than in supporting the volunteers, the Provost ordered ninety men of the town guard, and as many of the men of the Edinburgh regiment as were fit for service, to march and join the dragoons. General Guest, as soon as he was informed what orders the Provost had given, sent an order to Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped in the Links of Leith, to march through the city, and join the other regiment at Corstorphine, a village about three miles from Edinburgh.

The volunteers loaded their pieces for the first time ; the fire-bell * was rung, as a signal for them to repair to the Lawnmarket, which they did in a body. The fire bell ringing in the time of divine service, emptied the churches in an instant ; and the people rushing into the streets, were told that the volunteers, whom they saw under arms, were going out with the dragoons to fight the rebel army. As soon as the dragoons appeared, the volunteers huzzaed ;

* On Saturday the 14th it had been given out in orders, that all the volunteers should repair to the Lawnmarket, with their arms, when they heard the fire-bell ring, by day or night.

and the dragoons clashing their swords against one another, as they marched on, returned the huzza. An universal consternation seized the minds of the people of every rank, age, sex, and party. The relations of the volunteers crowded about them, and mixed with their ranks. The men reasoned, and endeavoured to dissuade their friends: the women expostulated, complained, and, weeping, embraced their sons and brothers. But neither the arguments of the men, nor the tears of the women, had any effect upon those volunteers who had agreed to Mr. Drummond's proposal. No sooner had the dragoons passed than Captain Drummond, putting himself at the head of his company, marched them up the High Street, and down the Bow to the Grassmarket, attended by a prodigious crowd of people, lamenting the fate of the volunteers. When Captain Drummond and his company came near the West Port, they found themselves alone; for neither officer nor private man of any other company had followed them. A halt was ordered, and an officer sent back to learn what had prevented the march of their associates. The officer sent back was Lieutenant Lindsay, who had proposed to Captain Drummond in the College-yards to separate those that were willing to march out with the dragoons, from those that were not willing. Mr. Drummond did not agree to this, saying it could not be done there, for the fire-bell would ring immediately, and call them to their posts. The fire-bell was rung; and the volunteers marched in a body to the Lawnmarket, where they halted, and waited some time for the dragoons, as has been mentioned. During this halt the separation was made in Captain Drummond's company by Lieutenant Lindsay; but when he came back to the Lawnmarket, and inquired what had prevented the march of the other companies, he found the volunteers in great confusion. The separation had not been made in any of the companies but Captain Drummond's; several of the officers told Lieutenant Lindsay that they were willing to march out and join the dragoons, but that very few of their men would consent to follow them. Many of the private

men complained that they had not one officer to lead them. Lieutenant Lindsay, with the assistance of Sir George Preston, and some other officers, collected all those who were willing to march out of town, and conducted them to the Grassmarket, where they joined * Captain Drummond's company.

Soon after this junction was made, Dr. Wishart, principal of the University of Edinburgh, with his brother George Wishart, (who was so well beloved,) and several other clergymen, came to the Grass Market, and addressing the volunteers with great earnestness, conjured them by whatever they held most sacred, to stay within the walls, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. Principal Wishart, who was the chief speaker, standing in the front of Captain Drummond's company, addressed himself to them in particular : more than one of them replied like young men, and rejected his counsel with disdain. When the Principal and his friends went away, Captain Drummond, after talking with his officers, sent a message † to Provost Stuart, by Lieutenant Ormiston, (of Sir George Preston's company,) to acquaint him, that unless he agreed to their marching out of town, the volunteers were determined not to proceed, and that they waited his answer. Lieutenant Ormiston returned with an answer from the Provost, that as he was very much against the proposal of marching the volunteers out of town, he was very glad of their resolution not to march out of town. Captain Drummond having received this answer, put himself at the head of his company, and marched the volunteers back to the College-yards. When Provost Stuart

* Forty-two private men of Captain Drummond's company marched with him to the Grassmarket. The volunteers Lieutenant Lindsey brought down from the Lawnmarket were 141 ; so that the whole number of volunteers amounted to 183, who, with the men of the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment, amounting to 180, formed a body of 363 foot, besides officers.

† The message which Lieutenant Ormiston carried from Captain Drummond to Provost Stuart, was known to none of the volunteers, officers excepted, till it appeared in a journal kept by Lieutenant Lindsay, of what happened at Edinburgh from the 5th of August to the 16th of September.

heard that Captain Drummond had marched the volunteers back to the College-yards, he sent an order to the town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, to join the dragoons, and obey Colonel Gardner.

The volunteers being dismissed from the College-yards to take some refreshment, about 20 private men of Captain Drummond's company, (who first of all had agreed to their Captain's proposal of joining the dragoons,) went to a tavern together: there they unbosomed themselves, and resolved, that if the town was not to be defended, which, from what they had seen of Captain Drummond's management that day, and what they had often heard of Provost Stuart's inclinations, they thought was very likely to happen, in that case they would separate from the other volunteers, and march to the eastward, with their arms. In this resolution the company was unanimous; and Professor Cleghorn, one of the most zealous volunteers, undertook to stand forth at the proper time, (if such a time should come,) and call upon his friends * to execute this resolution.

During these alarms at Edinburgh, the rebels were lying very quietly upon the banks of a rivulet about a mile to the eastward of Linlithgow. There they remained till the evening, and marching on a few miles, took post for the night upon a rising ground near the 12th mile-stone from Edinburgh †.

* Most of his friends were very young men; and when Captain Drummond harangued his company in the College-yards, they had not the smallest doubt that he was in earnest; but some of their relations, who were a little older than they, came to them when they halted in the Lawn Market to wait for the dragoons, and said they knew Mr. Drummond perfectly well, and could assure them that he did not intend to fight the rebel army, but that his real intention was to make himself popular at the eve of an election, by shewing extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city. Of this circumstance the author of the history is very certain; for he was talked to in this manner by his elder brother, whom at that time he did not believe.

† There were no mile-stones nor turnpike roads in Scotland till a good many years after the Rebellion; but the twelfth mile-stone stands very near where the Highland army passed the night.

The night between the 15th and 16th of September passed without disturbance. Six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the Edinburgh volunteers, and some volunteers who came in from the towns of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, were upon guard at the different gates of the city.

On Monday the 16th the rebels advanced slowly towards Edinburgh, giving time for the terror of their approach to operate upon the minds of unwarlike citizens in a divided city. Between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a message * was delivered from the young Pretender to the people of Edinburgh, acquainting them that if they would admit him peaceably into the city they should be civilly dealt with, if not, they must lay their account with military execution.

This threat was the more terrible, that it was not perfectly understood, and conveyed a confused idea of every thing that could happen in a town taken by storm: the effect of it soon appeared, for about mid-day a petition, signed by forty-eight citizens, was presented to Provost Stuart, praying that he would call a meeting of the inhabitants, and consult with them what was proper to be done. This petition Provost Stuart refused to grant; but an incident happened very soon which enforced the petition: that incident was the precipitate retreat of the dragoons.

Colonel Gardner, with his two regiments of dragoons, the town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, had remained at Corstorphine on the 15th till the evening. At sun-set the colonel, leaving a party of dragoons near Corstorphine, retreated with his two regiments to a field between Leith and Edinburgh; the infantry returned to the city. That night General Foukes arrived from London; and early next

* This message was delivered first to the Provost, and then to the people, at the cross of Edinburgh, as a piece of news, by one Mr. Alves, who said that he had passed the Highland army on the road, and that the Duke of Perth (whom he knew) had charged him with the message, after having asked a young man, whom he called the Prince, if it was his pleasure; to which he seemed to assent.

morning received an order from General Guest, to take the command of the two regiments of dragoons, and march them to a field at the east end of the Colt Bridge *. In the forenoon the men of the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment, joined the dragoons.

When the rebels came near Corstorphine, they saw the party of dragoons, where they had been posted by Colonel Gardiner ; and some young people, well mounted, were ordered to go near, take a view of the dragoons, and bring a report of their number. These young people, riding up to the dragoons, fired their pistols at them, who, without returning one shot, wheeled about, and rode off, carrying their fears into the main body. General Foukes and the two regiments of dragoons set off immediately, and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, passed on the north side of the town by the Long Dykes, (where the New Town stands,) in full view of the people of Edinburgh.

Instantly the clamour rose, and crowds of people ran about the streets crying out, that it was madness to think of resistance, since the dragoons were fled ; and some of them meeting Provost Stuart, as he returned from the West Port, (where he had gone to give orders after the retreat of the dragoons,) followed him to the Parliament Square, beseeching him not to persist in defending the town, for if he did they should all be murdered. The Provost reprimanded them ; and went to the Goldsmiths' Hall, where the Magistrates and Town Council were assembled, with a good many of the inhabitants. A deputation was sent to the Justice Clerk †, the Advocate, and the Solicitor, to entreat that they would come and assist

* The Colt Bridge is about two miles from Edinburgh, on the way to Corstorphine.

† Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, had gone to his house at Brunstane in the forenoon, to put some papers out of the way ; and returning to Edinburgh after dinner, met a crowd of people in the Canongate, who had rushed out at the Nether-Bow-Port, when it was opened to let out the baggage of the dragoons, that it might follow them : these people called out that the rebels were entering the town at the West Port, upon which Lord Milton returned to Brunstane.

the Council with their advice. The deputies returned, and reported that all these gentlemen had left the town. Provost Stuart then sent for the captains of the volunteers, and the trained bands, and desired to have their opinion concerning the defence of the town. The officers said very little, and seemed to be at a loss what opinion to give; other people in the meeting made speeches for and against the defence of the town, not without reproach and abuse on both sides. The crowd increased to such a degree, that it became necessary to adjourn to a larger place, and the meeting adjourned to the New Church Aisle, which was immediately filled with people, the most part of whom called to give up the town; that it was impossible to defend it. Those who attempted to speak against the general opinion, were borne down with noise and clamour.

Meanwhile a letter was handed in from the door, addressed to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh: Deacon Orrock (a member of the Council) opened the letter, and said it was subscribed Charles, P. R. Provost Stuart stopped Deacon Orrock, said he would not be witness to reading such a letter; and rising from his seat, left the place, and returned to the Goldsmiths' Hall, followed by most part of the Council, and a good many of the town's people, who called out to read the letter, for it was absolutely necessary (they said) to read the letter, that the inhabitants might know what threatenings it contained against the city. Others maintained that it ought not to be read; that it was treason to read it. During these debates about reading the letter, four companies of the volunteers marched up to the castle of Edinburgh, and laid down their arms, without orders from Provost Stuart, and without his knowlege. These four companies had come from the College-yards to their alarm post in the Lawn Market, when the fire-bell was rung, after the retreat of the dragoons. The captains, leaving their lieutenants to command the companies, went to that meeting at the Goldsmiths' Hall, which was adjourned to the New Church Aisle, where they remained a

long time. The volunteers becoming impatient to know what was going on at the meeting of the inhabitants, two of the lieutenants went from the Lawn Market, and asked Provost Stuart what orders he pleased to give them. The lieutenants returned without receiving any orders from the Provost; and brought very bad accounts of the disposition that seemed to prevail among the people at the meeting. One of the volunteers (not an officer) hearing what the lieutenants said, proposed to his companions that they should go to the meeting with their arms, and give their opinion as inhabitants. Other two private men, talking together, differed so much that they quarrelled and attacked one another; one of them made use of his musket and fixed bayonet; the other threw down his musket, and parried the bayonet with his sword. They were soon separated without any harm done. Much about the same time a man of a tolerable appearance, (whom nobody ever pretended to know,) mounted upon a grey horse, came up from the Bow to the Lawn Market, and galloping along the front of the volunteers, called out that he had seen the Highland army, that they were sixteen thousand strong. This lying messenger did not stay to be questioned; for he was out of sight in a moment. By and by Captain Drummond, and the other captains, came to the Lawn Market, and having talked with their lieutenants in sight of the men, sent Lieutenant Lindsay to acquaint General Guest, that the volunteers were coming to the castle to deliver up their arms, as no good could be done by keeping them, for the town was to be given up. When Lieutenant Lindsay returned with an answer from General Guest, that he expected them, Captain Drummond (whose company having the right, was nearest the castle) gave them orders to march. Then it was that the volunteer, who stood next to Professor Cleghorn, reminded him of the agreement they had made with their companions: and said, Now is your time. No, said Mr. Cleghorn, I don't think it is; to separate from the rest of the volunteers at present, would do more ill than good. Not a word more was said; and

the volunteers marched up to the castle. The sun was setting when they laid down their arms; many of them with visible reluctance, and some of them with tears. The example of the four companies, commanded by Captain Drummond, was very soon followed by the other two companies of volunteers; and by all the different bodies of men who had received arms from the King's magazine. At the time the volunteers laid down their arms, the meeting at the Goldsmiths' Hall was still debating whether or no the letter, signed Charles P. R. should be read. Provost Stuart had given orders to send for the town assessors to have their opinion. None of them could be found but Mr. Haldane, who came immediately; and being asked by Provost Stuart, whether or not a letter addressed to the magistrates, signed Charles P. R. should be read, he answered, that was a matter too high for him to give his opinion upon: having said so, he rose and went away. Provost Stuart exclaimed, "Good God! I am deserted by my arms and my assessors." After this there was a pause. The Provost still demurred; but most of the company becoming impatient to know the contents of the letter, it was read at last.

"From our Camp, 16th Sept. 1745.

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the Town Council, and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But, if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it (whether belonging to the public, or private persons) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of His Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for

the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city ; and in that case if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

“ CHARLES, *P. R.*”

When the threatenings which this letter contained were heard, the cry against resistance became louder than ever ; and it was proposed to send a deputation to the person from whom this letter came, to desire that hostilities might not be commenced, till the citizens had deliberated, and resolved what answer should be made to the letter. This proposal was agreed to ; and about eight o'clock at night Bailie Hamilton, and three other members of the Council, were sent to Gray's Mill, where the Pretender was, to carry to him the request of the Council.

Soon after the deputies were sent out, intelligence came to the Provost and Magistrates (assembled in the Council Chamber) that the transports with General Cope's army were off Dunbar ; and as the wind was unfavourable for bringing them up the Firth, that the General intended to land his troops at Dunbar, and march them to the relief of the city.

This piece of intelligence changed the face of affairs. Messengers were sent off immediately to overtake the deputies, and prevent them from executing their commission. Application was made to General Guest for arms, and he was requested to recal the dragoons. General Guest answered, that the Magistrates might put the arms belonging to the city into the hands of such of their inhabitants as were well disposed ; and if the Provost should write to him, that there was a good spirit appearing among the people, and desire him to deliver out the volunteers' arms, that he might probably do it ; but that he judged it was absolutely necessary for His Majesty's service that the two regiments of dragoons should be ordered to join General Cope. Various proposals were then made in the Council to beat to arms, to ring the alarm-bell, and re-assemble the volunteers. To these proposals it was objected, that most of the volunteers had left the town, when they laid down their arms :

that the messengers sent to recal the deputies, not having overtaken them, the deputies were now in the power of the rebels, who, when they heard the alarm bell, would probably hang the deputies.

About ten o'clock at night, the deputies returned, and brought a letter in answer to the message sent by them.

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Regent thinks his Manifesto, and the King his father's declaration already published, a sufficient capitulation for all His Majesty's subjects to accept of with joy. His present demands are to be received into the city as the son and representative of the King his father, and obeyed as such when there. His Royal Highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform.

“ At Gray's Mill, 16th September, 1745. By his Highness's command.

(Signed)

J. MURRAY.”

When this letter was read, Provost Stuart said, there was one condition in it which he would die rather than submit to, which was receiving the son of the Pretender as Prince Regent; for he was bound by oath to another master. After long deliberation it was determined to send out deputies once more, to beg a suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock in the morning, that the Magistrates might have an opportunity of conversing with the citizens, most of whom were gone to bed. The deputies were also instructed to require an explanation of what was meant by receiving Charles as Prince Regent.

About two o'clock in the morning the deputies set out in a hackney coach for Gray's Mill; when they arrived there they prevailed upon Lord George Murray to second their application for a delay; but Charles

refused to grant it; and the deputies were ordered in his name to get them gone.

The coach brought them back to Edinburgh, set them down in the High Street, and then drove towards the Canongate. When the Nether Bow port was opened to let out the coach, 800 Highlanders, led by Cameron of Locheil, rushed in, and took possession of the city.

It was about five o'clock in the morning when the rebels entered Edinburgh. They immediately sent parties to all the other gates, and to the town guard, who making the soldiers upon duty prisoners, occupied their posts as quietly as one guard relieves another. When the inhabitants of Edinburgh awaked in the morning, they found that the Highlanders were masters of the city.

If this particular account of what happened at Edinburgh, from the 9th to the 17th of September, should seem tedious, as is most likely it will, the author thought it better that the account he gives of the surrender of Edinburgh should seem tedious, than be incomplete, as it would most certainly have been, if he had omitted any of the circumstances which happened on the 15th and 16th of September. For those circumstances of which he was an eye-witness, and took notes at the time, prove beyond dispute that the volunteers, who agreed to Captain Drummond's proposal of joining the dragoons, and persisted in their resolution to the last, were in earnest to defend the city. As to the intention of Captain Drummond, people differed in opinion: the generality of the inhabitants of Edinburgh were persuaded that he meant at all hazards to defend the town against the rebels. Some people, on the contrary, were of opinion that the chief object Captain Drummond had in view was to make himself popular, and defeat Provost Stuart's interest in the city. That his proposal to the volunteers of joining the dragoons, and giving battle to the rebels, was merely a pretence of doing what he never had the most distant intention to do, as appeared by his message to Provost Stuart, which Lieutenant Ormiston carried, and the awkward manner in which he

desisted from his proposal. If this latter opinion be well founded, and Mr. Drummond meant nothing more than to defeat Provost Stuart's interest, the election job, as it has been called, succeeded perfectly well; for when Mr. Stuart (who was member of Parliament for the city of Edinburgh) went to London, he was taken into custody, and sent to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner fourteen months. At last, being admitted to bail upon a recognisance to appear before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, he came to Edinburgh, where he was tried for neglect of duty, and misbehaviour in the execution of his office. After one of the longest and most solemn trials* that ever was known, the jury, *nemine contradicente*, found him Not Guilty. But long before the trial, there had been a poll election of Magistrates†, and Mr. Drummond was chosen Provost by a great majority.

* When Provost Stuart's Trial was published, it appeared that the company of burgesses who framed the petition to be authorised to take arms, had sent deputies to Provost Stuart on the 3d of September, with several instructions concerning the defence of the town, which Provost Stuart told them was impracticable and ridiculous to attempt. The deputies had more than one conversation with Provost Stuart, before they presented their petition. When the petition was granted, several of the petitioners became officers of the volunteers, and presented memorials to Provost Stuart, recommending measures necessary to be taken for the defence of the town, which they who knew his opinion upon that subject were certain he would reject. Trial, p. 36. 132.

† The poll election was finished on the 28th of November, in the year 1746.—Provost Stuart's trial ended on the 27th of March, 1747.

CHAP. V.

Charles comes to Holyrood House—His Father proclaimed—The Dragoons join Sir John Cope—His march towards Edinburgh—Receives information of the Rebels advancing to meet him—Forms his Army to receive the Enemy—The Rebels come on the right—A Morass between the Armies—Various Movements till Night—The Rebels pass the Morass—The Battle of Preston.

ABOUT ten o'clock the main body of the rebels marching by Duddingston (to avoid being fired upon by the Castle) entered the King's Park, and halted in the hollow between the hills, under the peak called Arthur's Seat. By and by Charles came down to the Duke's Walk, accompanied by the Highland Chiefs, and other commanders of his army.

The Park was full of people, (amongst whom was the author of this history,) all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth*, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light coloured periwig with his own hair combed over the front: he wore the Highland dress, that is a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park to shew himself to the people; and then, though he was

* Born at Rome on the 31st of December, in the year 1720, he was in the 25th year of his age. While Charles was standing in the Duke's Walk, one of the spectators endeavoured to measure shoulders with him; and said he was more than 5 feet 10 inches high.

very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback.

The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance : they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled (they said) in his figure as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person ; but they observed, that even in that triumphant hour when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy : that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Hence they formed their conclusions that the enterprize was above the pitch of his mind ; and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved. When Charles came to the palace, he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner, was James Hepburn of Keith, whose name will be mentioned again more than once ; he had been engaged when a very young man in the rebellion of the year 1715, and from that time (learned and intelligent as he was) had continued a Jacobite. But he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with another spirit ; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James the Second ; but he also condemned the Union between England and Scotland, as injurious, and humiliating to his country ; saying, (to use his own words,) that the Union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand times rather than submit to it.

Wrapped up in these notions, he kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh ; idolized by the Jacobites, and beloved by

some of the best Whigs, who regretted * that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland.

The Highlanders, when they entered the town in the morning, had secured the Heralds and Pursuivants: at mid-day they surrounded the Cross with a body of armed men, and obliged the Heralds to proclaim King James, to read the Commission of Regency, and the Declaration, dated at Rome, in December, 1743, with a Manifesto in the name of Charles Prince Regent, dated at Paris, 16th of May, 1745. An immense multitude witnessed this ceremony, which was performed at noon.

The populace of a great city, who huzza for any thing that brings them together, huzzaed; and a number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day.

These demonstrations of joy, amongst people of condition, were chiefly confined to one sex; few gentlemen were to be seen on the streets, or in the windows; and even amongst the inferior people, many shewed their dislike by a stubborn silence.

Whilst the Heralds were proclaiming King James at Edinburgh, Sir John Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar: the two regiments of dragoons had come there on the morning of the 17th in a condition not very respectable.†

* The Earl of Stair and Lord Milton.

† The two regiments of dragoons, having retreated from the Colt Bridge, halted some time at Leith, and at Musselburgh, then they went on to a field between Preston Grange and Dauphinston, where they dismounted and prepared to stay all night; but a dragoon seeking forage for his horse between ten and eleven o'clock, fell into an old coal pit which was full of water, and made such a noise that the dragoons thought the Highlanders had got amongst them; and mounting their horses, made the best of their way to Dunbar. Colonel Gardner had gone to his own house, which was hard by, and locked the door when he went to bed, so that he heard nothing of the matter till next morning, when he rose, and followed his men with a heavy heart; for the

The disembarkation of the troops, artillery, and stores, was not completed till the 18th; that day a volunteer from Edinburgh was introduced to Sir John Cope, who told the General that he had remained in Edinburgh after the rebels took possession of the town, not only from curiosity to see the Highland army and their leader, but to make himself sure what was the number of the rebels, which, during their march to Edinburgh, nobody seemed to know.

That he had gone to the different posts which they occupied in the town; and reckoned them pretty exactly. That he had gone up to the hollow between the hills, where the main body of their army lay; that when he came there, fortune favoured his design; for a great quantity of provisions, which had been ordered from the town, was brought to the Highlanders, just as he arrived amongst them; and they were sitting in ranks upon the ground, extremely intent on their food.

That in this situation he found no difficulty in counting them man by man, and was persuaded that the whole number of Highlanders, whom he saw, within and without the town, did not amount to 2000 men; but he was told that several bodies of men from the North were on their way, and expected very soon to join them at Edinburgh.

The General asked what sort of appearance they made, and how they were armed? The volunteer answered, that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men; that many of them were of a very ordinary size, and, if clothed like Low-country men, would (in his opinion) appear inferior to the King's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it shewed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular; that their stern countenances, and bushy uncombed hair, gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. As to their arms, he said

the road to Dunbar was strewed with swords, pistols, and firelocks, which were gathered together, and carried in covered carts to Dunbar; so that the flight of the two régiments was very little known in the army.

that they had no cannon nor artillery of any sort, but one small iron gun, which he had seen without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse; that about 1400 or 1500 of them were armed with firelocks and broad-swords; that their firelocks were not similar nor uniform, but of all sorts and sizes, muskets, fuseses, and fowling-pieces; that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some of them swords without firelocks; that many of their swords were not Highland broad-swords, but French; that a company or two (about 100 men) had each of them in his hand the shaft of a pitch-fork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, somewhat like the weapon called the Lochaber axe, which the town-guard soldiers carry: But all of them, he added, would be soon provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the Trained Bands of Edinburgh had fallen into their hands. Sir John Cope dismissed the volunteer, with many compliments for bringing him such certain and accurate intelligence.

At Dunbar some of the judges and men of the law came to the camp, resolving to continue with the army, not as fighting men, but as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching action. At Dunbar the Earl of Home joined Sir John Cope.

He was then an officer in the guards, and thought it his duty to offer his service, when the King's troops were in the field. He came to Dunbar attended by one or two servants. There were not wanting persons upon this occasion to make their remarks, and observe the mighty change which little more than a century had produced in Scotland.

It was known to every body, who knew any thing of the history of their country, that the ancestors of this noble Lord (once the most powerful Peers in the south of Scotland) could, at a short warning, have raised in their own territories, a body of men whose approach that Highland army, which had got possession of the capital of Scotland (and was preparing to fight the whole military force in that kingdom), would not have dared to wait. On the 19th of September, Sir John Cope, with his army, left Dunbar,

and marched towards Edinburgh. This little army made a great show, the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage carts, extended for several miles along the road. The people of the country, long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters, to see an army going to fight a battle in East Lothian ; and, with infinite concern and anxiety for the event, beheld this uncommon spectacle.

That day the army encamped in a field to the west of the town of Haddington. In the evening it was proposed to the General to employ some of those young people who followed the camp, to ride between Haddington and Duddingston, during the dark hours, lest the Highlanders (whose movements were rapid) should march in the night time, and surprise the army. The General approved the proposal ; and sixteen young men, most of whom had been volunteers at Edinburgh, offered their service. About nine o'clock at night, eight of them (two together) set out by four different roads that led to Duddingston ; and returning at midnight to the camp, made a report to the officer who commanded the piquet ; the other eight set out when they returned ; and rode till break of day between the two armies. Two of the last division never came back to Haddington. Next day the army moved back again, directing their movement towards Edinburgh, by the post road, till they came near Huntington ; and turning off there, took the low road by St. Germain's * and Seaton. In this march, the officers assured the spectators, of whom no small number attended them, that there would be no battle, for as the calvary and infantry were joined, the Highlanders would not venture to wait the attack of so complete an army. It is doubtful whether or not the people who talked in this manner really thought so ; but such was the tone of the army ; and

* Sir John Cope, in the account which he gave to the Board of General Officers, says, that he left the post road because there were defiles and inclosures near that road, where calvary could not act.

whoever did not hold the same language, was looked upon as a lukewarm friend.

The van of the army was entering the plain between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon *, who had been sent on to reconnoitre the ground, came back at a good pace, and informed the General that the rebels were in full march towards the King's army; that he had seen them, and having viewed them with good glasses, was certain that it was not a detachment, but the whole body of the Highland army.

Sir John Cope, informed of the approach of the rebels, thought that the plain between Seaton and Preston, which he saw before him, was a very proper piece of ground to receive them, and continued his march along the high road to Preston, till he came to the place since well known by the name of the field of battle, and there he formed his army, fronting the west, from which the enemy was expected. In a very short time after Sir John Cope had taken his ground, the Highland army came in sight.

As every body that had a mind might go to Dunbar and see what was doing there, the rebels had notice when the troops were disembarked, when they began their march towards Edinburgh, and how far they came the first day. On Thursday evening Charles came to Duddingston, and calling a Council of War, proposed to march next morning and meet Sir John Cope half way. The Members of the Council agreed that there was nothing else to be done. Charles then asked the Highland Chiefs how they thought their men would behave when they met Sir John Cope, who had at last plucked up the spirit to give them battle? The chiefs desired Macdonald of Keppoch to speak for them, as he had served in the French army, and was thought to know better than

* From the time Sir John Cope left Stirling, Lord Loudon had been with him acting as Adjutant-General. When the army took the low road to Edinburgh, Sir John Cope sent on Lord Loudon and Lord Home, with the Quarter-Master-General, to mark out a camp for the army near Musselburgh, as the General intended to go no farther that day

any of them what the Highlanders could do against regular troops. Keppoch said, that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and it was not very easy to say how they would behave; but he would venture to assure his Royal Highness, that the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and that the private men, as they loved the cause, and loved their Chiefs, would certainly follow them. Charles declared that he would lead them on himself, and charge at their head. The chiefs exclaimed, they were ruined and undone; for, if any accident befel him, a defeat or a victory was the same to them: that if he persisted in his resolution, they would go home, and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect; and Charles did not persist.

Next morning the Highland army marched from Duddingston in a column, whose front was very narrow, three men in a rank; they crossed the river Esk at the bridge of Musselburgh, and proceeded along the post road, till they came to Edge Bucklin Brae. There they left the post road, and going by the west side of Wallyford, advanced a good way up Fawside Hill, then turning to the left, bent their course towards Tranent, and coming in upon the post road again, a little to the west of that town, continued their march till the King's army saw them appear. The soldiers shouted with great vehemence; the Highlanders returned the shout; and marching on till the head of the column * was near Tranent, they halted, faced to the left, and formed the line of battle, about half a mile from the King's army.

As the Highlanders, in marching from Duddingston, had made a circuit, they did not come from that quarter whence they were expected; and Sir John

* The Highland regiments, drawn up three men deep, marched off by the flank, which the regulars call marching by files. When the head of the column reached the place intended, the men were ordered to halt, face to the right or left, and the column became a line. They always marched in this manner, sometimes in one column, sometimes in two.

Cope, as soon as he saw them appear on his left, put his troops in motion, and changing the front of his army from west to south, faced the enemy. On his right was the village of Preston; and still nearer his right, the east wall of Mr. Erskine of Grange's Park, which, extending a great way from south to north, had a high road at each end of it. On his left was the village of Seaton; in his rear, the village of Cockenzie, and the sea; in his front the rebels, and the town of Tranent. Between the two armies was a morass; the ground on each side of it was soft, boggy, and full of springs, that formed a run of water, which went down in a ditch to Seaton, where it ended in a mill-dam. In this boggy ground there were a great many cuts and drains which had made some parts of it more firm; and in these places there were several small inclosures, with hedges, dry stone dykes, and willow trees. In the front, and but a few paces from the front of the King's army, there was a ditch, with a thick and strong hedge.

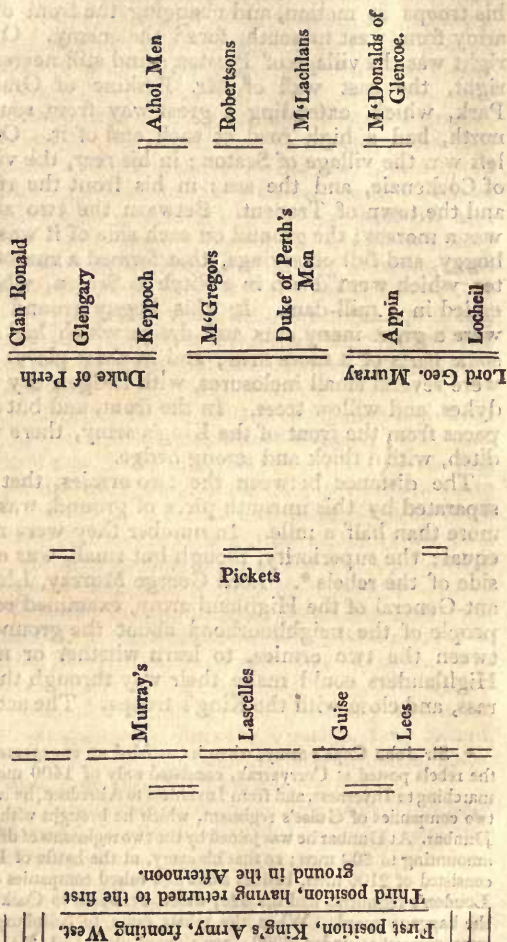
The distance between the two armies, that were separated by this uncouth piece of ground, was little more than half a mile. In number they were nearly equal; the superiority, though but small, was on the side of the rebels*. Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Highland army, examined several people of the neighbourhood about the ground between the two armies, to learn whether or no the Highlanders could make their way through the morass, and close with the King's troops. The accounts

* Sir John Cope's army, when he avoided an engagement with the rebels posted at Corryarrak, consisted only of 1400 men. In marching to Inverness, and from Inverness to Aberdeen, he met with two companies of Guise's regiment, which he brought with him to Dunbar. At Dunbar he was joined by the two regiments of dragoons, amounting to 600 men; so that his army, at the battle of Preston, consisted of 2100 men, besides some new raised companies of Lord Loudon's regiment, and the 42d, which were sent to Cockenzie as the baggage guard. When the rebels came to Edinburgh, they were somewhat under 2000 men; next day 150 M'Lachlans joined them; and before they marched from Duddingston to meet Sir John Cope, they were joined by 250 Athol men; so that the rebel army, at the battle of Preston, amounted nearly to 2400.

Battle of Preston, 21st September, 1745.

KING'S ARMY.

REBEL ARMY.



which he received were not favourable to his wishes. To make himself sure, by the report of a military man, he sent an officer to view the ground: this officer (known afterwards to be Ker of Gradon) came down from the Highland army alone; he was mounted upon a little white poney; and with the greatest deliberation rode between the two armies, looking at the ground on each hand of him. Several shot were fired at him as he went along; when he came to a dry stone dyke that was in his way, he dismounted, and pulling down a piece of the dyke, led his horse over it. He then returned to Lord George Murray, and assured him that it was impossible to get through the morass, and attack the enemy in front, without receiving several fires. Soon after this piece of information, Charles, with a great part of his army, moved towards Dauphinston on their left, till they came opposite to Preston Tower, and seemed to meditate an attack from that quarter. General Cope observing this movement, resumed his first position, and formed his army with their front to Preston, and their right to the Sea.

By and by the Highlanders returned to their former ground, and the King's army did the same. The afternoon was spent in various movements *, Sir John Cope always endeavouring to preserve the advantage of his situation. But when evening came, and night approached, his situation did not seem so advantageous as he imagined. It appeared too plainly that his troops were shut up, and confined to a place, from which it was not thought safe for them to go very

* During these movements, the two gentlemen who had set out from Haddington as scouts, and never returned, made their appearance. They were Francis Garden and Robert Cunningham (afterwards Lord Gardenston and General Cunningham;) they had gone so near Duddingston that they were taken prisoners by the rebels, who threatened to hang them as spies; and when the rebel army marched to meet Sir John Cope, the prisoners were carried along with them, to be placed (they said) in the front of the battle, and exposed to the fire of their friends. When the armies came in sight of each other, the Highlanders marched them backward and forwards for some time, and at last allowed them to slip away.

far, whilst the rebels were at liberty to move about as they pleased, and were actually in continual motion, hovering about the King's army to find an opportunity, and rush in upon them. The night was at hand, dark and cold; for although the weather was fine, and remarkably warm in the day time, the nights were cold and frosty, as they usually are in Scotland at that season (for it was the 20th day of September, old style.)

Then, and not till then, some people began to fear that the army, which stood upon the defensive, and was to pass the night under arms, would be attacked in the morning with advantage by an enemy, who, secure from attack, and sheltered from the cold by their plaids, might lie down, take their rest, and rise fresh and vigorous for the fight. Such were the gloomy reflections on one side, when night sat down upon the field.

Sir John Cope, to secure his army during the night, advanced picquets and out-guards of horse and foot along the side of the morass, very near as far east as the village of Seaton. He ordered fires to be kindled in the front of his army, and sent down the baggage and the military chest to Cockenzie, guarded by forty men from one of the regiments of the line, and all the Highlanders of his army, who were two companies of new raised men, belonging to Lord Loudon's regiments, and the two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, that had marched with Sir John Cope from Stirling to Inverness*, and by desertion were reduced to fifteen men a company.

The line of battle formed along the side of the morass, consisted of five companies of Lee's regiment on the right, of Murray's regiment on the left, of eight companies of Lascelles's and two of Guise's regiment in the centre. On the right of the line of foot, were two squadrons of Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons; and on the left, two squadrons of General

* When Sir John Cope left Inverness, 200 Highlanders (Monros) marched with his army to Aberdeen, but refused to embark, as it was so near the time of harvest.

Hamilton's, having the third squadron of each regiment placed in the rear of the other two squadrons without any infantry. The cannon were placed on the left of the army, (near the waggon road from Tranent to Cockenzie,) guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford. As soon as it was dark, the Highlanders moved to their right, and took up their ground below the east end of the town of Tranent, where the morass seemed more practicable. Charles and his officers held a Council of War, in which it was resolved to attack the King's army, from that quarter, at break of day. The Highlanders wrapt themselves up in their plaids, and lay down to sleep. There was in the rebel army a person who had joined them at Edinburgh: his name was Robert Anderson (the son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of the year 1715.) He knew the country exceedingly well, and having been consulted by Lord George Murray about the ground between the two armies, had given him the same account which Ker of Gradon did after his survey. Anderson had been present at the Council of War, held to determine the manner of attack; but did not take the liberty to speak and give his opinion. After Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson told Mr. Hepburn of Keith, that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain that there was a better way to come at the King's army than that which the counsellors of Charles had resolved to follow; that he would undertake to shew them a place, where they might easily pass the morass, without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. Mr. Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray. Mr. Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George Murray, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone, than when introduced by another person. When Anderson came to Lord

little farther from the line, and in the front of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney's squadron. The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage. When they set out, the mist was very thick; but before they had got half-way, the sun rose, dispelled the mist, and showed the armies* to each other. As the left wing of the rebel army, had moved before the right, their line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners† or artillery men, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five of the six field pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man, and wounded an officer in Lochell's regiment. The line seemed to shake, but the men kept going on at a great pace; Colonel Whitney was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack the rebels be-

* Some of the rebel officers have since acknowledged, that when they first saw the King's army, which made a most gallant appearance both horse and foot, with the sun shining upon their arms, and then looked at their own line which was broken into clumps and clusters, (the bravest and best armed foremost,) they expected that the Highland army would be defeated in a moment, and swept from the field.

† When Sir John Cope marched with his army to the North, there were no gunners nor matrosses to be had in Scotland, but one old man, who had belonged to the Scots train of artillery before the Union. This gunner, and three old soldiers belonging to the company of invalids in the garrison at the castle of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope carried along with him to Inverness. When the troops came to Dunbar, the King's ship which escorted the transports furnished Sir John Cope with some sailors to work the cannon; but when the Highlanders came on, firing as they advanced, the sailors, the gunner, and the three old invalids, ran away, taking the powder flasks with them, so that Colonel Whiteford, who fired five of the old field pieces, could not fire the sixth for want of priming. Sir John Cope had only four field pieces when he came to Inverness, but he ordered two field pieces to be taken from the castle there, and added to his train.

fore they came up to the cannon : the dragoons moved on and were very near the cannon, when they received some fire, which killed several men, and wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The squadron immediately wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled. The men of the artillery guard, who had given one fire, and that a very indifferent one, dispersed. The Highlanders going on without stopping to make prisoners, Colonel Gardner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack them, disordered as they seemed to be, with running over the cannon and the artillery guard. The Colonel advanced at the head of his men, encouraging them to charge ; the dragoons followed him a little way, but as soon as the fire of the Highlanders reached them, they reeled, fell into confusion, and went off as the other squadron had done. When the dragoons on the right of the King's army gave way, the Highlanders, most of whom had their pieces still loaded, advanced against the foot, firing as they went on. The soldiers, confounded and terrified to see the cannon taken, and the dragoons put to flight, gave their fire, it is said, without orders ; the companies of the out-guard being nearest the enemy, were the first that fired, and the fire went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. The Highlanders threw down their musquets, drew their swords and ran on ; the line of foot broke as the fire had been given from right to left ; Hamilton's dragoons seeing what had happened on the right, and receiving some fire at a good distance from the Highlanders advancing to attack them, they immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flank of the foot unguarded. The regiment which was next them (Murray's) gave their fire and followed the dragoons. In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army, both horse and foot, were put to flight ; none of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood. In this manner the battle of Preston was fought and won by the rebels ; the victory was complete, for all the infantry of the King's army were either killed or taken prisoners, except

about 170*, who escaped by extraordinary swiftness, or early flight.

The number of private men of the King's army who were killed in the battle did not exceed 200†, but five officers were killed, and 80 officers (many of them wounded) were taken prisoners. Four officers of the rebel army, and 30 private men were killed; six officers and 70 private men were wounded. The cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest of the King's army, with the men that guarded it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The dragoons, after their first flight, halted once or twice, but fled again, whenever any party of the rebels came up and fired at them. General Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, gathered together about 450 dragoons at the west end of the village of Preston, and marching them by Soutra Hill and Lauder, reached Coldstream that night.

In this battle there were not wanting instances of generous valour on the side of the vanquished. Colonel Gardner, a veteran officer, who had served in the armies of the Duke of Marlborough, encouraging his men by his voice and example to charge the rebels, when he found himself abandoned by the dragoons, did not follow them, but endeavouring (wounded as he was) to join the foot, met a glorious death, which he preferred to flight. Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, the only officer in the King's army who had seen Highlanders attack regular troops, (at the battle of Sheriffmuir,) and the only person who

* On Monday the 23d, 105 soldiers who escaped from the battle, were mustered in the castle of Edinburgh. Besides those that got into the castle, about 70 soldiers found their way to Berwick, where the number increased, for a good many of the men taken prisoners at Preston, enlisted with the rebels, and during their long stay at Edinburgh deserted, and joined their comrades at Berwick, so that the number of soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and met at Berwick, amounted in the end of October to 200 men.

† Some accounts of the battle of Preston, written by officers in the rebel army, make the number of men in the King's army who were killed, to have been 400 or 500.

seemed to think * that there was any thing formidable in their attack, when the rebels broke in upon that part of the line where he stood, he disdained to turn his back, and was killed with his face to the enemy.

Charles remained on the field of battle till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity. That night he lay at Pinkie, and next morning returned to Edinburgh.

CHAP. VI.

Charles at Holyrood House—Resolutions of his Council—Contest with General Guest in the Castle—The Rebels reinforced—Some Ships arrive from France—Correspondence of Charles with the Chiefs—Of the Chiefs with one another—Their Engagements to join the Rebel army—Message by Lord Lovat's Secretary—Embarrassment of Charles and his Council—Resolution and Preparations to march into England—Number of the Rebels when they left Edinburgh.

WHEN Charles with his army returned to Edinburgh, after the battle of Preston, the friends of Government were extremely apprehensive that the rebels would march immediately to the southward, and make a dangerous progress in England, before the arrival

* William Congalton of Congalton, coming to the camp at Haddington to inquire for Captain Brymer, who was his brother-in-law, found him in his tent reading, and asked, What made him so grave, when all the other officers were in such spirits, and made light of the enemy? Captain Brymer answered, that he thought his brother officers would find themselves mistaken, for he was certain the Highlanders would make a bold attack.

of the British troops from Flanders. But Charles and his Counsellors did not think it advisable to march into England with so small an army*, whose appearance might discourage their friends in that part of the country from declaring themselves. They therefore resolved to remain some time in Scotland, and wait for an accession of force which they expected in consequence of their victory. Messengers were forthwith dispatched to France, and to the Highlands, with accounts of the battle of Preston, calculated to obtain the assistance which they required, to render, they said, their success certain and infallible. From the time that the rebel army returned victorious to Edinburgh, Charles, as Prince Regent, exercised every act of sovereignty, ordering regiments to be levied for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be raised for the defence of his person. To carry on business with the appearance of royalty, he appointed a council to meet in Holyrood House, every day at ten o'clock. The members of this council were the two Lieutenant-generals (the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray,) Secretary Murray, Sullivan, Quarter-master-General, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Elcho, Colonel of the First Troop of Horse Guards, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland Chiefs.

For some days after the battle of Preston, the communication between the castle and the town of Edinburgh continued open. The Highlanders kept guard at the Weigh House, and at some old buildings still nearer the castle; but allowed necessities of every kind to pass, particularly for the use of the officers. By and by they began to be more strict; and on the 29th of September, orders were given to the guards to allow no person to pass or repass to the castle. That evening a letter was sent by General Guest to the Provost of Edinburgh, acquainting him, that unless a free communication was allowed between the castle and the town, the General would be obliged to

* Besides the men killed and wounded in the battle, a good many of the Highlanders had gone home to their own country with the booty they had gained.

make use of his cannon to dislodge the rebels, who blockaded the castle. The Provost obtained a respite till next day, when six deputies were sent down to the Abbey. They presented to Charles General Guest's letter, which was really intended for him. Charles gave an answer in writing, expressing his surprise at the barbarity of the officer who threatened to bring distress upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for not doing what was out of their power to do; and observing, that if compassion to the inhabitants of Edinburgh should make him withdraw his guards from their posts, General Guest might with equal reason require him to leave the city with his troops, and abandon all the advantages of his victory.

The citizens transmitted to General Guest the answer which Charles had made to his letter; and they obtained from the General a suspension of the threatened cannonade, till the return of an express which was sent to London. This delay was granted by the General, upon condition that the rebels, in the mean time, should attempt nothing against the castle. This condition, however, seems not to have been well understood; for on the 1st of October the Highlanders having fired at some people whom they saw carrying provisions to the castle, the garrison next day fired both cannon and small arms at the houses that covered the Highland guard. Upon which Charles published a proclamation prohibiting all correspondence with the castle upon pain of death; and gave orders to strengthen the blockade by posting additional guards at several places. When General Guest was informed of this proclamation, and the orders given by Charles, he sent a message to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to acquaint them that he intended to demolish with his cannon those houses where the guards were posted, that prevented provisions being carried to the castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage as possible to the inhabitants of the city. Accordingly, about two o'clock on the 4th of October the cannonade began, and continued till the evening. As soon as it grew dark, the garrison made a sally, set fire to some of the houses that were next the cas-

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tle, and made a trench between the castle and the upper end of the street, where they planted some field-pieces, and fired down the street with cartouch shot. Next day the cannonade continued, several of the rebels, and some of the inhabitants, were killed or wounded. In the evening Charles published a proclamation, recalling his orders, and allowing a communication between the town and the castle. This cannonade, or as it was called bombardment of Edinburgh, was grievously complained of. The generality of people concluded that the garrison of the castle was in want of provisions, and that the General found himself under the necessity of keeping the communication open in the manner he did. It was not so; the castle was well provided, and General Guest meant to engage the Highlanders in a siege; and prevent them from marching into England. With this view, in the beginning of the week after the battle of Preston, he wrote four or five letters addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, acquainting his Grace, that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh, that he would be obliged to surrender if he was not relieved immediately: and he gave his advice, that the troops to relieve him should be sent by sea to Berwick or Newcastle, as the quickest conveyance. These letters were sent out from the castle, that they might fall into the hands of the rebels: but lest any of them should make its way through the Highlanders, and reach London, General Guest wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that contained an account of the real state of the garrison, and of the deception which he intended to practise on the rebels. This letter was sent to Captain Beaver of the Fox man of war, lying in the Road of Leith, by one Corsar, a writing master in Edinburgh, who desired Captain Beaver to send his long-boat to Berwick with the General's letter, and put it into the post-house there, that it might be safely conveyed to London. During this contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the rebel

army ; and no man of quality but Lord Kilmarnock, and Arthur Elphinstone, who soon afterwards, by his brother's death, became Lord Balmerino. About this time several bodies of men came up from the Low Country of the North, raised by some of the nobility and gentry in that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands. The first person that came to Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, (eldest son of the Earl of Airley,) who arrived in town on the 3d of October, and brought with him a regiment of 600 men ; a good many of the officers were of his family or name.

On the 4th of October, Gordon of Glenbucket arrived at Edinburgh with a body of men. Glenbucket, in the year 1715, had been a Major-general in the Pretender's army, commanded by the Earl of Marr. Some time after that he sold his paternal estate, and with the reversion, which was considerable, wadsetted * from the Duke of Gordon a great tract of land in Strathavon, Strathdon, Glenlivet and Auchindown. The inhabitants of these lands which lie near the line of partition that separates the Highlands from the Lowlands, partaking of the character of their neighbours, were among the first that took arms. Glenbucket brought with him a regiment of 400 men, he himself was Colonel, his eldest son Lieutenant-colonel, several of his sons were Captains, and most of the officers were his relations or allies. On the 9th of October, Lord Pitsligo arrived in the camp at Duddingston † : he was attended by a great many gentlemen

* A WADSET is a security or pledge of land for debt. The borrower of the money who gives the pledge is called the reversor. The creditor who lends the money and receives the pledge is called the wadsetter. The terms seem improper, but such was the language of the country. In the memory of our fathers, the younger sons of families, even in the south of Scotland, had farms in wadset for their patrimony ; and if the farms were of such extent as to have a qualification, the wadsetter voted at every election of a member for the county.

†. After the battle of Preston, the tents of Sir John Cope's army were pitched at Duddingston : as it was very fine weather, the Highlanders could scarcely be prevailed upon to make use of them. Charles came very often to the camp, dined in his tent, and sometimes slept there.

from the countries of Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a body of cavalry that served under his command: he also brought with him a small body of infantry (consisting of six companies,) which was called Lord Pitsligo's foot. This peer, who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo. About this time, that is in the beginning of October, several ships from France arrived at Montrose, Stonehaven, and other sea-ports in the north of Scotland, with arms and ammunition. One of these ships, the first that came, besides arms and ammunition, brought over a small sum of money, together with Boyer Marques d'Equillez, who went on to Holyrood House, where he was called the French Ambassador. Another vessel, besides the same sort of cargo with the first, had some French Irish officers on board. A third ship landed part of a company of artillery men, with six field pieces. Meanwhile, several gentlemen from the North, and some petty chiefs from the Highlands and Islands, came to Edinburgh with companies of men, and joined the rebels; but the augmentation of their army by reinforcements from the Highlands did not proceed as Charles and his adherents expected it would have done after the battle of Preston, when the victory they had obtained gave them (as they said) so fair a prospect of success. At this part of the story it seems proper to give an account of the correspondence which Charles had after the battle of Preston with those Highland chiefs who had refused to join him when he landed, and also of the correspondence and engagements which those chiefs

had with one another while Charles remained at Edinburgh.

On the 24th of September, the third day after the battle of Preston, Charles sent a messenger, whose name was Alexander Macleod, to the Isle of Sky, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod of Macleod, that he did not impute their not joining him when he landed, to any failure of loyalty or zeal for his Majesty's cause, and to acquaint them, that notwithstanding the delay they had made, he was willing to receive them as the most favoured of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

From Sky, Alexander Macleod went to Castle Downie, and remained there some time with Lord Lovat, who, as soon as the news of the battle of Preston came to the Highlands, said it was a victory not to be paralleled in history; and that as sure as God was in heaven, his right master would prevail. Elated with the first glimpse of success, Lord Lovat began to assemble his men, and prepare to act that part which he had long intended, for he had been engaged in every design and conspiracy against Government from the year 1719: he had accepted of several commissions* from the Pretender, and obtained a patent to be Duke of Fraser.

Engaged so deeply, he applied to those chiefs who, in his opinion, favoured the Pretender's cause, (though like him they had refused to join Charles when he landed,) assuring them, that now the time was come to shew what the Highlanders could do; and urging them to raise all the men they could, that they might join the Frasers, and march together to Edinburgh.

Opposed to Lord Lovat, stood the President of the Court of Session, who addressed himself to the Highland chiefs, with most of whom he was intimately acquainted, exhorting those who he knew were well affected, to exert themselves on this occasion; and conjuring those who he believed favoured the Pretender, not to ruin themselves and their families, by engaging

* One commission to be a General Officer, dated in Queen Anne's time; another to be Lord Lieutenant of all the counties north of the river Spey, dated in the year 1743.

in so criminal and desperate an enterprise. Solicited on every side, several of the chiefs were perplexed to such a degree, that, according to a vulgar but significant expression, they knew not what hand to turn themselves to; and to say the truth, it appears that some of them turned themselves to both hands, and changed their mind more than once before the Highland army left Edinburgh; for on the 9th of October Fraser of Foyers, one of the chieftains of the clan Fraser, wrote to the Marquis of Tullibardine, (called Duke of Athol in the rebel army,) acquainting him that the Macdonalds, and the Macleods of Sky, the Macintoshes, and the Mackenzies, were to march and join the Frasers near Corryarrak. All the certainty I have of this (says Foyers) is, that I was present at Beaufort* on Saturday last, when Macleod of Macleod was dispatched express to Sky, and is engaged in honour to be at Corryarrak with his men on Tuesday next, where the Frasers will join them.

This meeting of the clans at Corryarrak never took place; for some time after the date of Foyer's letter, Lord Lovat sent his secretary, Hugh Fraser, to Holyrood House, to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of 4 or 5000 men, at whose head he intended to march to Edinburgh, but as some people † had not acted up to their engagements, he could not assemble so great a body of men, and he who was old and infirm had resolved to stay at home, and send the clan Fraser to join him, under the command of his eldest son, which was a stronger proof of his affection and attachment, than if

* Lord Lovat's house was sometimes called Beaufort, and sometimes Castle Downie.

† Hugh Fraser does not name the people who had not acted up to their engagements; but Lord Lovat, in his letter to Locheil (which was produced and read as evidence at Lovat's trial) says, that Macleod, before he set out from Castle Downie to Sky, swore in the most solemn manner that he would bring up his men, and join the Frasers near Corryarrak; but very soon afterwards wrote him a letter from Sky, that after deliberating with his neighbour Sir Alexander, and weighing the arguments on both sides, he and his neighbour had resolved to stay at home, and not to trouble the Government.—*Lovat's Trial*, p. 138.

he had come himself. When Hugh Fraser delivered this message from Lord Lovat, Charles said it was very well, and dismissed him ; but a few days after, Secretary Murray sent for Hugh Fraser to Holyrood House, where, in presence of some of the Highland chiefs, he examined him, and insisted that he should go back immediately to the North, and carry with him a letter to Lord Lovat : the letter bore, that he (Secretary Murray) was extremely glad of the accounts he had received of his Lordship's intentions : that he hoped he would persevere in them, and that he earnestly desired the Frasers would march forthwith. This desire of Secretary Murray's Lord Lovat did not comply with ; for, before Hugh Fraser came back to Castle Downie, Lord Loudon had arrived at Inverness, and was in such force that Lord Lovat did not think it safe for him to send his clan to join the rebel army, but had recourse to his usual arts, and wrote a letter to the President *, acquainting him that his son was so undutiful and obstinate as to raise the men against his will, and enter into the rebellion. This letter Hugh Fraser carried to the President, who told him, that if the Frasers marched, Lord Lovat would be seized, and his conduct inquired into. The President also gave him an answer in writing to Lord Lovat's letter, repeating what he had said by word of mouth ; and Hugh Fraser returned with an answer to the same purpose, from Lord Loudon, whom he had seen at Inverness. To conclude this account of the transactions in the north of Scotland ; the Frasers did not march from Castle Downie till some time after the Highland army had left Edinburgh, and they got no farther than Perth, where they remained till the month of January.

* The President was not left to depend entirely upon the force of his arguments ; for twenty blank commissions of independent companies (100 men in each company) had been sent down to him from the War Office, to be filled up as he thought proper ; and he who knew the Highlands, had disposed of these commissions to persons who raised the men immediately, and brought them to Inverness ; so that the forces under Lord Loudon's command, which consisted of his own regiment, and the independent companies, were much superior to the forces Lord Lovat commanded.

The message from Lord Lovat by his secretary, had exceedingly embarrassed Charles and his council. During their stay at Edinburgh, almost all the British troops had been brought over from Flanders, and 6000 men of the Dutch army (the quota of troops with which the States of Holland were bound by treaty to assist Britain in case of an invasion or rebellion) had arrived in England. Besides these veteran troops, 13 regiments of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, raised and commanded by the nobility of England, were ready to take the field; so that the whole English nation seemed to be unanimous and zealous to support the established Government.

On the side of the rebels, every thing was dark and gloomy. The army of Lovat, which he called 4 or 5000 men, and sometimes 6000, had burst like a bubble. Some reinforcements were still expected from the North, and several bodies of men were actually on their way; but what was to be done? what could they hope to do with the handful of men they had? After long and anxious deliberation, Charles and his Council resolved to march into England, and push the enterprize to the utmost. Hopes were still entertained of an invasion from France, of an insurrection in England, and some, the bravest and most determined, trusted in themselves: for after the battle of Preston, the generality of the rebels entertained a wonderful opinion of the Highlanders, and held the King's troops in great contempt. Orders were given in the end of October, to call in all their parties, to collect their whole force, and prepare for their march to England. Lord Strathallan was appointed to command in Scotland, when the army should leave Edinburgh, and to remain at Perth with some gentlemen in that neighbourhood, who had joined the standard, and with a few French Irish officers, and their men, to receive the succours that were expected from France, from the Highlands, and from the Low-country of the North, where many people were known to be well inclined to the cause, and were beginning in several places to take arms. On the last day of October, Charles, with his guards, and some of the clan regi-

ments, left Edinburgh, and took up his quarters at Pinkie: next day he went to Dalkeith House, where he was joined by the clan Macpherson, under the command of their chief Macpherson * of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his men, with some other Highlanders, amounting in all to 900 or 1000 men. This was the last reinforcement that arrived before Charles marched to England.

At this part of the story, it seems proper to mention the number of the rebel army, with some other particulars in which this Highland army differed from all other armies. When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 4 or 500 were cavalry; and of the whole number, not quite 4000 were real Highlanders, who formed the clan regiments, and were indeed the strength of the rebel army. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland garb: they were thirteen in number, many of them very small. Besides the two troops of horse-guards, there were Lord Pitsligo's and Strathallan's horse, Lord Kilmarnock's horse grenadiers, and a troop of light horse or hus-

* Cluny, chief of the clan Macpherson, and many other disaffected chiefs, were ready in the year 1744 to take arms, and join the French army under the command of Marshal Saxe, which was preparing to embark at Dunkirk, and invade Britain; but when that design of invasion was frustrated, as has been mentioned, Cluny, who had a small estate, and thought there was no likelihood of another invasion from France, accepted a captain's commission in Lord Loudon's Highland regiment. Cluny was raising his men when Charles landed in the Highlands, and wrote him a letter, signed by his own hand, dated Borodale, August 6th, acquainting him that the standard was to be erected in Glenfinin on the 19th, where his appearance would be very useful then, or as soon as he could thereafter. Notwithstanding this letter, Cluny waited on Sir John Cope, and went with him to Ruthven, where he was allowed by Sir John Cope and Lord Loudon to return home, and ordered as soon as he assembled his men to march them to Inverness. Cluny went to his own house, and that night about ten o'clock a party of 100 men from the rebel army seized him, and carried him prisoner to Dalwhinnie, where he was urged to join the standard; which he refused, and persisted in his refusal till the Duke of Perth, with Lord George Murray, joined Charles at Perth, and Cluny followed their example.

sars to scour the country and procure intelligence. The pay of a captain in this army was half a crown a day; the pay of a lieutenant two shillings; the pay of an ensign one shilling and sixpence; and every private man received sixpence a-day, without deduction. In the clan regiments, every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. The front rank of each regiment consisted of persons who called themselves gentlemen, and were paid one shilling a day; these gentlemen were better armed than the men in the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not.

Every clan regiment was commanded by the chief, or his son, or his brother, (the nearest of kin, whoever he was,) according to the custom of clanship. In the day of battle, each company of a Highland regiment furnished two of their best men as a guard to the chief. In the choice of this guard, consanguinity was considered; and the chief (whose post was the centre of the regiment, by the colours) stood between two brothers, or two cousins-german. The train of artillery which belonged to this army of invaders consisted of General Cope's field pieces, taken at the battle of Preston, and of some pieces of a larger calibre, brought over in the ships from France, amounting in all to 13 pieces of cannon.

As Charles returned to Edinburgh the day after the battle of Preston, and lived at Holyrood House from the 22d of September to the 31st of October, some persons who read this history may wish to know in what manner he lived, what company he saw, and how he received them. Of these matters nothing has been said hitherto, nor can the author say any thing from his own knowledge, for he did not come to Edinburgh till some time after Charles left it. The following short account is extracted from the memoirs of an officer in his army, who saw him every day.

The Prince Regent in the morning before the council met, had a levee of his officers, and other people who favoured his cause. When the council rose, which often sat very long, for his counsellors frequently differed in opinion with one another, and

sometimes with him, Charles dined in public with his principal officers. After dinner he rode out with his life guards, and usually went to Duddingston, where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyrood House, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room : he then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper, and a ball afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

March of the Rebels towards Carlisle—Carlisle invested—General Wade at Newcastle—Charles marches to Brampton—The Duke of Perth sent back to besiege Carlisle—The Mayor capitulates—The Rebels take possession of the City—Dissension in their Army—Cause of Dissension—The Cause removed—A Council of War—Order sent to Lord Strathallan—March of the Rebels from Carlisle—They arrive at Derby—Council held at Derby—Resolution of the Council to march back—The Retreat begins—The Duke of Cumberland pursues—Skirmish at Clifton—The Rebels continue their march—Cross the Esk and return to Scotland.

WHEN Charles left Edinburgh, it was not known by what road he purposed to enter England. Part of his army moving in different divisions by Peebles and Moffat, pointed towards the West ; but one division, consisting of several Highland regiments and the horse guards, commanded by Charles himself, marched to Kelso, which is the road either to Newcastle or Carlisle. At Kelso they halted one day, and nobody knew what was to be their route, till Charles with his division took the Jedburgh road, which leads to

Carlisle, and shewed that he intended to advance by the west of England.

On the 8th of November, the van of the Highland army crossed the river Esk, and was quartered that night at a place in Cumberland called Reddings. Next day all the divisions of the army joined and invested the city of Carlisle, which in former times had been a place of some strength; but the fortifications had been long neglected: there were no regular troops in the city, and only one company of invalids in the castle. The garrison consisted of those inhabitants who had taken arms, and some country people whom the gentlemen in the neighbourhood had sent to help the inhabitants to defend their walls.

Before the rebel army broke ground, intelligence came that General Wade with his army had marched from Newcastle to raise the siege.

Charles and his officers immediately resolved to advance with the best part of their army to Brampton, and watch General Wade's motions, that if he should advance towards Carlisle, they might give him battle upon the hilly ground between Newcastle and Carlisle. Charles leaving one or two Low-country regiments before Carlisle, marched his troops to Brampton, and kept them there for several days; but being informed that General Wade had not moved from Newcastle, he sent the Duke of Perth with several regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, to besiege Carlisle. On the 13th, the Duke of Perth, with the forces under his command, arrived at Carlisle, and the trenches were opened that night between the English and Scotch gate. The besieged kept a constant fire both of cannon and small arms, but at five o'clock in the evening of the 14th, they hung out a flag, and desired to capitulate for the city; but the Duke of Perth, who was in the trenches, refused, unless the castle of Carlisle was included in the capitulation. The Mayor then requested a cessation of arms till next day, which was granted, and the city and castle of Carlisle surrendered on the 15th of November.

That very day General Wade with his army left Newcastle, and had got as far as Hexham in his way to Carlisle on the 17th, when he received information that the city had surrendered to the rebels, upon which he marched his troops back to Newcastle.

The rebel army after the surrender of Carlisle remained there several days, and dissension prevailed amongst them. The Duke of Perth, who was a Roman Catholic, as eldest Lieutenant-General, had commanded the army during the siege of Carlisle, and signed the capitulation. The army murmured at this; and Lord George Murray resigned his commission as Lieutenant-General, acquainting Charles that he would serve as a volunteer.

The Duke of Perth, informed of the state of affairs, waited upon Charles, and resigned his commission of Lieutenant-General, assuring him at the same time, that he would serve at the head of the regiment which he himself had raised. Lord George Murray resumed his commission, and henceforth, as the only Lieutenant-General, commanded the army. A day or two after this transaction, a Council of War was called, in which various proposals were made and taken under consideration. It was proposed to march to Newcastle, and bring General Wade's army to an action: it was proposed to march directly to London by the Lancashire road: it was proposed to do quite the contrary, and return to Scotland, as there was not the least appearance of an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England. Charles declared his adherence to the resolution taken at Edinburgh, of marching directly to London at all hazards, and desired Lord George Murray to give his opinion of the different proposals.

Lord George Murray spoke at some length, compared the advantages and disadvantages of each of the proposals, and concluded, that if his Royal Highness chose to make a trial of what could be done by marching to the southward, he was persuaded that his army, small as it was, would follow him: Charles said he would venture it. It was a venture.

Before Charles set his foot on English ground, all the infantry of the British troops in Flanders had arrived in England, two battalions * excepted ; and these troops, with the Dutch auxiliaries, and the new raised regiments, formed three armies, each of them superior in number to the rebel army.

One army, commanded by General Wade, covered Newcastle. Another army advancing towards Lancashire, was commanded at first by General Ligonier, and afterwards by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Besides these two armies, a number of old regiments, both horse and foot, that had served abroad †, were quartered at Finchley, Enfield, and other villages near London, ready in case of need to form a third army, which was to have been commanded by the King and the Earl of Stair.

According to the resolution of the Council of War, the rebel army ‡ began their march to the southward, leaving 150 men of the Low-country regiments to garrison the castle of Carlisle. The rebels marched in two divisions. The first division, consisting of six regiments of foot, and the first troop of horse guards, was commanded by Lord George Murray, and marched to Penrith on the 21st of November. The second division, which was called the main body, consisting of the Highland regiments, followed them next day, under the command of Charles ; and coming to Penrith, occupied the quarters which the van had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by the Duke of Perth's regiment : the second troop of horse guards, with the rest of the horse, marched,

* The last embarkation, consisting of seven battalions of foot, arrived in the river on the 4th of November. The rebel army entered England on the 8th of November.

† Some horse and dragoons had landed at the same time with the foot : the last embarkation of cavalry arrived on the 1st of December, so that only two battalions of British infantry, and four regiments of cavalry, remained in Flanders.

‡ Before they left Carlisle, Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan was dispatched to Scotland, with an order to Lord Strathallan, Commander in Chief, to march immediately with all the forces under his command, and follow the army into England.

some of them in the front, and some of them in the rear of the main body. In this manner they advanced by Penrith, Shap, Kendal, Lancaster, and Garstang, to Preston, where the whole army joined on the 27th. Next day they marched to Wigan, and quartered there and in the neighbouring villages. On the 29th, they marched on to Manchester, where they halted till the 31st. At Manchester several gentlemen, and about 200 or 300 of the common people joined the rebel army*: these were the only Englishmen (a few individuals excepted) who joined Charles in his march through the country of England: they were not attached to any of the Scots regiments, though some of the Low-country regiments needed recruits† very much, but formed a separate body, which was called the Manchester regiment, and commanded by Colonel Francis Townley, a gentleman of a good family in Lancashire, and a Roman Catholic.

From Manchester the rebel army marched on to Macclesfield: from Macclesfield the two divisions advanced by different roads, the one by Congleton, the other straight on to Leek, and from Leek by Ashburn to Derby‡, where both divisions arrived on the 4th of December.

When Charles and his army were at Derby, they were rather nearer London than the Duke of Cumberland's army, divisions of which lay at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle under Line. It

* When the rebels marched from Carlisle to the southward, the people of England, in most of the towns through which they passed, shewed the greatest aversion to their cause. Some memoirs written by the rebel officers mention that Charles ordered his father to be proclaimed King in all the towns through which they passed; and that no acclamations or ringing of bells were heard but at Preston and Manchester.

† A good many men had deserted from the Low-country regiments in the march from Edinburgh to Carlisle.

‡ In the march from Carlisle to Derby, notice came to Charles that Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's brother, had arrived at Montrose with his own regiment of foot, which he called the Royal Scots, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, and the picquets of six Irish regiments in the service of France.

seemed to be the intention of the rebels to avoid an action with the Duke's army, and push on to London; but they took another course; for after halting a day or two at Derby, where it is said that more than one council of war was held, they resolved, after much debate and contention, to return to Ashburn and march northward, till they should meet the other army coming from Scotland, which was supposed to be not inferior to the army at Derby. The person who proposed a retreat was Lord George Murray, who said they had advanced so far expecting an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, neither of which had happened, and that it would be an excess of temerity to advance any further against three armies collected to oppose them, each of which was greatly superior in number to the Highland army. When Lord George argued in this manner, he offered that, in case the retreat was agreed to, he would command the rear guard. Another account of this matter has been given; but both accounts agree in one circumstance, which is, that Charles was extremely averse to the retreat, and so much offended when it was resolved to return to Ashburn, that he behaved for some time as if he no longer thought himself commander of the army. In the march forward he had always been first up in the morning, had the men in motion before break of day, and usually marched on foot with them: but in the retreat, though the rest of the army were on their march, and the rear could not move without him, he made them wait a long time; and when he came out, mounted his horse, rode straight on, and got to his quarters with the van.

As soon as the Duke of Cumberland was certainly informed that the rebels had begun their retreat, for at first the rumours were various and uncertain, he pursued them on the 8th of December, with all his calvary and some infantry mounted on horses which the country furnished. But the Highlanders, having marched for Ashburn on the 6th, had got two days march before the King's troops, and were not overtaken till the evening of the 18th December, when a

skirmish happened at Clifton, a village near Penrith, between the rear guard of the rebel army and the pursuers. The main body of the rebel army had got to Penrith on the evening of the 17th; but Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rear-guard, was left a good way behind, with the Glengary regiment which guarded the baggage, for the roads among the hills of Westmoreland were so bad that the carts and carriages were continually breaking down; and Lord George, with his men, was obliged to take up his quarters at Shap, where he found Colonel Roy Stuart with his small regiment of 200 men.

Next day Lord George Murray marched with both regiments very early in the morning. When it was good day light, some bodies of horse appeared on the heights behind him, of which Lord George sent notice to the army at Penrith. When he came near Clifton, he saw 200 or 300 horse drawn up between him and the village; these were not regular troops, but Cumberland people, and other volunteers, mounted to harass the rebels in their retreat. Lord George Murray ordered the Glengary regiment to attack them; the Highlanders threw off their plaids, and ran on to attack the horsemen, who immediately galloped off.

The Highlanders marched on to Clifton, and Lord George, imagining that the horse he had seen would probably be about Lowther (the seat of Lord Lonsdale, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county,) went with the Glengary regiment to Lowther. In his way he made some prisoners, one of whom was a footman of the Duke of Cumberland.

The prisoners told Lord George, that the Duke of Cumberland, with 4000 horse, was about a mile behind him. Lord George immediately returned to Clifton, where he found two Highland regiments come from Penrith to support the rear guard; these were come from Cluny's regiment, commanded by himself, and the Appin regiment under the command of Ardsheil. Lord George Murray, chafed that the dragoons had come so near him by his own fault, resolved to maintain his post, and give a check to the pursuers. He

thought of doing something more, and dispatched Colonel Roy Stuart to the army at Penrith, requesting that 1000 men might be sent him. He intended, if his request had been complied with, to have marched a part of his forces by Lord Lonsdale's inclosures on his right, and to have gained the flank of the dragoons upon the moor, so that they might attack the main body of the Duke's cavalry, at the same time that any detachment from them should attack his men at Clifton. Colonel Roy Stuart returned, and brought an order from Charles, that the rear guard should retire to Penrith. Lord George Murray desired Colonel Stuart not to mention this order to any other person. The sun was set, and it was beginning to grow dark. The Duke's cavalry was formed in two lines upon Clifton Moor, half a mile or more from the village of that name. On one side of the high road from the moor to the village of Clifton, were Lord Lonsdale's inclosures of great extent. On the other side were the Clifton inclosures, which did not extend very far. In the high road Lord George Murray placed the Glengary regiment; and in their right Colonel John Roy Stuart's regiment, lining the wall of one of Lord Lonsdale's inclosures. On the left of the Glengary regiment, and within the Clifton inclosures, he placed the Appin regiment, and on their left the Macpherson regiment. Lord George Murray went backwards and forwards, speaking to every commanding officer, and giving him particular directions what to do, for his situation was critical*. He then placed himself at the head of the Macpherson regiment with Cluny by his side. Day-light was gone; the night being dark and cloudy, the moon sometimes was overcast, and at other times shone bright. By her light Lord George Murray saw a body of men (who were dismounted dragoons) coming from the moor, and advancing towards the Clif-

* At this time Major General Gordon of Glenbucket, came up and spoke with Lord George, regretting that he was not able to go on with his Lordship, and begging him to be very cautious, for if any mischance should happen, he would be blamed.

ton inclosures, where he was standing with his two regiments, which had a hedge in their front very near them; and at some distance another hedge with a deep ditch, which terminated the Clifton inclosures. Lord George Murray ordered the two regiments to advance to the second hedge: in advancing, Cluny's regiment, which was nearer the second hedge than the other regiment, received a fire* from the dragoons, which they returned: and Lord George ordering them to attack sword in hand, before the dragoons could load again, they drew their swords, ran on; and attacked the dragoons, whom they drove from their ground, and forced them to retreat to their main body upon the moor. As soon as the dragoons gave way, the Macphersons shouted, to let their friends know they had repulsed them, and returned immediately to the post whence they came. During this conflict, which lasted but a few minutes, another body of dismounted dragoons advancing upon the high road, were repulsed by the Glengary regiment, and Colonel Roy Stuart's†. In this manner the skirmish ended, and Lord George Murray, without farther molestation, marched his four regiments to Penrith, where they joined the army commanded by Charles, who, soon after their arrival, marched towards Carlisle, leaving the regiments which had been at Clifton to rest some hours, and refresh themselves, which they did, and then took the road to Carlisle, where the whole army arrived on the morning of the 19th.

In the castle of Carlisle 150 men had been left, when the Highland army marched to the southward.

* When the dragoons gave their fire, Cluny said, What the devil is this? Lord George told him that they had nothing for it, but to go down sword in hand, and immediately drew his sword, and called Claymore.

† Such is the account of the skirmish at Clifton, given by Lord George Murray, who, in his Memoirs, says that he has been more particular in his account of this little skirmish, because he observed that it was differently related in the English newspapers, as if the Highlanders had been driven from their posts at Clifton, whereas they remained there half an hour after the dragoons had retreated to their main body upon the moor.

It was now thought proper to strengthen the garrison: and a good deal of time was spent in finding people that would stay at Carlisle, for they knew their fate. The number, however, was made up at last to about 300 men, consisting partly of Englishmen (the Manchester regiment,) of Scotsmen belonging to the Low-country regiments, and a few Frenchmen, and Irishmen. After halting twenty-four hours at Carlisle, the Highland army left that place on the 20th, crossed the river Esk, and marching in two divisions, arrived at Annan and Ecclefechan the same day.

As there were no troops in that part of the country where the rebels entered Scotland, and the Duke of Cumberland pursued them no farther*, they marched in two divisions by Dumfries and Moffat, to Glasgow, where they arrived on the 25th and 26th of December.

The people of Glasgow were not a little troubled at this visit from Charles and his army, who were likely to help themselves (as they did) with what they wanted†, in the most opulent commercial city in Scotland, which had always been remarkably zealous for the government both in church and state, as it was settled at the Revolution; and upon the present occasion had distinguished itself more than ever, as may be seen in the following chapter.

* On the 21st of December, the Duke of Cumberland marched his army from Penrith to Carlisle, and immediately invested the place; but being under a necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the batteries were not erected till the 28th, and on the 30th the garrison surrendered at discretion. In this manner ended the winter campaign of the rebels in England.

† Charles required the Magistrates of Glasgow to furnish his army with 12,000 shirts, 6000 short coats, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pair of stockings; the value of which, added to the L.5500 paid on the 17th of September, amounted to L.10,000: and by an extract from the records of the town of Glasgow, signed by James Wilson, Town Clerk, it appears that Parliament, in the year 1749, granted to his Majesty ten thousand pounds to be paid to the Magistrates of Glasgow, to reimburse them for the expence they had incurred by their distinguished loyalty.

CHAP. VIII.

State of Scotland while the Rebel Army was in England—Preparations for War—Head Quarters of both Armies—Skirmish at Inverury—Number of the Rebels—Contention and Animosity amongst them—Charles marches to Stirling—The Town surrenders—The Rebels besiege the Castle—General Hawley marches to raise the siege—The two Armies meet at Falkirk—The King's Army defeated—The Rebels take possession of Falkirk—Tumult and Mutiny in their Army—The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Edinburgh—Marches to attack the Rebels—They retreat to the Highlands—Escape from the Castle of Downe of the Volunteers taken Prisoners after the Battle of Falkirk.

WHILST Charles with his army remained at Edinburgh, every-body in the south of Scotland submitted to a force which they could not resist; and Charles was truly Prince Regent, governing a country in which there were no magistrates, no judges, and very few men in arms, but those who were under his command.

Soon after the rebel army entered England, Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, with several other judges of the Court of Session, attended by the Sheriffs of East Lothian and the Merse, with a good number of the gentlemen of these two counties, entered Edinburgh in procession; they were saluted by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.

Next day two regiments of foot (Price's and Ligonier's) with Hamilton's and Gardner's dragoons, arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick*. It was intend-

* The Highland army crossed the river Esk on the 8th and 9th of November. The Judges entered Edinburgh on the 13th, and the troops from Berwick on the 14th.

ed that these regiments should march to Stirling, and guard the passages of the river Forth against the rebels at Perth, who were daily increasing in number.

The magistrates of Glasgow, encouraged by the return of the Judges, and the appearance of troops, offered to raise a body of men, and send them to Stirling to assist the King's troops in confining the rebels to the north. In their correspondence with Lord Milton upon this occasion, they required that Government should furnish their men with arms, and allow pay to such of them as were not able to maintain themselves.

The number of men in different parts of the country, that were willing to serve Government upon these conditions, Lord Milton, in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, computes at 3000, of whom (he says) not above one half required to be paid.

The account of the arms delivered from the Castle of Edinburgh (with the dates of the delivery) which is still preserved, mentions the names of the different parishes, most of which are in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh * and Glasgow.

The King's troops began their march towards Stirling on the 7th of December, and the Glasgow regiment, of 600 men, commanded by the Earl of Home, joined them at Stirling on the 12th.

Several more companies were preparing to follow, but General Blakeney, thinking the body of men he had sufficient to guard the passages of the Forth, desired Lord Home to let the Magistrates of Glasgow know, that it was not necessary to send any more men to Stirling.

* Amongst those who took arms for Government, about this time, were some young men at Edinburgh, who formed themselves into a company, and chose for officers two of their own number, who had been privates in the College Company of Edinburgh volunteers, raised to defend the city; and upon that occasion had agreed to join the dragoons, and give battle to the rebels. When the company had chosen their officers, they applied to Lord Milton, and obtained an order from him to the store-master of the castle to deliver them arms: they had also places assigned them for exercise, under cover or without cover, as the weather served, for it was then about the middle of November.

Another small army had been assembling for some time in the north of Scotland, under the command of Lord Loudon, who on the 14th of October had arrived at Inverness in the Saltash sloop of war, with some arms, ammunition, and money. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by the officers and men of his own regiment, who, with the independent companies formerly mentioned, amounted, about the middle of November, to more than 2000 men. The sum of money brought by Lord Loudon was not sufficient to subsist the troops under his command; but the credit and influence of the President supplied what was wanting, and the town of Inverness became the head-quarters of those who took arms for Government in the north of Scotland.

Meanwhile several gentlemen of Aberdeenshire, Angus, the Mearns, and other places in the low country of the north, were raising men for the service of Charles.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, raised a regiment of two battalions, one of which was commanded by Gordon of Abbachie, and the other by Moir of Stonywood.

Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, had arrived at Montrose, as has been formerly mentioned, with a body of troops in the service of France, consisting of his own regiment, the Royal Scots, of the piquets of six Irish regiments, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, (so called from the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their Colonel.) But Lord John Drummond's account of the forces with which he landed, contained in a letter of his to Lord Fortrose, which has been preserved, is certainly exaggerated; for though Fitzjames's regiment of horse embarked with him, so many transports of this embarkation were taken by the English cruizers in their way to Scotland, or obliged to return to Dunkirk whence they came, that the regiment of horse landed very incomplete, and never shewed more than two troops, 50 men each troop.

Soon after Lord John Drummond landed in Scot-

land, he sent General Stapleton with the Irish piquets and part of his own regiment, to join Lord Strathallan at Perth ; the other part of his regiment he sent to join Lord Lewis Gordon, who had fixed his headquarters at Aberdeen ; and kept parties moving about in the adjacent country to raise men and collect money, according to a rate or tax which he had imposed upon the proprietors of land to furnish him with one able-bodied man, or five pounds sterling for every 100 pound Scots of valued rent.

To protect the funds of Government, and prevent the levy of this arbitrary imposition, Lord Loudon sent Macleod of Macleod from Inverness with 450 of his own men (whom he had brought from the Isle of Sky,) and 200 of Monros, commanded by Munro of Culcairn, to Inverury, which is only twelve computed miles from Aberdeen.

Lord Lewis Gordon, informed that Macleod was so near him, with a force inferior to his, marched his own regiment, and all the men he had of Lord John Drummond's regiment, with a battalion of 300 Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, to attack Macleod at Inverury.

It was late before Lord Lewis reached the place ; but Macleod's men, though they did not expect the attack, and were partly surprized, had time to put themselves in order to receive the enemy. It was moon-light when the action began, and the firing continued for some time on both sides ; but when Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons advanced to close with their enemies, Macleod's men did not stand the charge, but left the field, and escaped as they could.

In this conflict not many men on either side were killed, but 41 of Macleod's party were taken prisoners, among whom were several Low-country gentlemen of consideration who had joined Macleod.

Soon after the skirmish at Inverury, which happened on the 23d of December, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to join the forces at Perth, which was the place of general rendezvous.

The number of troops there was continually fluctuating, but at last amounted to 4000 men.

They consisted of the clans that had come to Perth after Charles had left Edinburgh, that is, of the Macintoshes, the Frazers, the Mackenzies, and the Farquharsons; of the recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had marched to England with Charles; of the regiments and companies raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch and others in the low country of the north; of the piquets of the Irish regiments in the service of France, commanded by General Stapleton; and of the Royal Scots, whose Colonel, Lord John Drummond, called himself Commander in Chief of His Most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland.

This heterogeneous army of Highlanders and Lowlanders, of Irish, Scots, and French, had quarreled about an order sent from Carlisle by Charles to Lord Strathallan at Perth, to march with all his forces, and follow the army into England.

This order Lord Strathallan's council of officers judged it was not expedient to obey.

Maclachlan of Maclachlan, who brought the order, and all the Highland officers, were provoked at this act of disobedience: they caballed together, and resolved to follow their Prince and their countrymen. But it was not easy for them to execute this resolution, as Lord Strathallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition and stores.

The Highlanders had no money, and some of them who came last from the Highlands wanted arms.

The Commander in Chief, Lord Strathallan, was supported by all the Low Country men, and the French and Irish.

The Highlanders persisted in their resolution, and formed several projects of getting at the money. Both parties were sufficiently violent, and had no reason either of them to think the other very scrupulous. They were ready to proceed to the last extremities, and a battle seemed inevitable, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth, with an order from Charles (dated Dumfries) to Lord Strathallan, to hold

himself and his forces in readiness to join the army, which was now marching to Glasgow, from whence he should receive further orders.

This order removed the cause of quarrel, and put an end to the difference.

There was nothing to prevent or obstruct the junction of the two armies ; for as soon as it was certainly known that the Highland army had crossed the river Esk, and was marching towards Glasgow, the King's troops left Stirling, and marched to Edinburgh, where they were joined by the Glasgow regiment next day, which was the 24th of December.

From the time that the Highlanders crossed the river Esk in their retreat from England, the King's servants at Edinburgh, both civil and military, not knowing what course the rebels intended to take, were extremely perplexed ; and forming hypothetical resolutions, gave out what was most encouraging.

On the 29th of December a paper was read in the churches, to acquaint the people of Edinburgh, that it had been resolved, in a Council of War, to defend the city against the rebels.

Next day, a great number of able-bodied men were brought in from the neighbouring parishes, and paraded in arms upon the High Street. Every parish marched by itself, and a good many of the parishes had their minister marching along with them.

As the Glasgow and Edinburgh regiments were not much better trained than the Militia (so they were called) of the country parishes, notwithstanding the paper read from the pulpit, the generality of people believed, that if the Highland army approached Edinburgh, the King's troops would leave the town and retreat to Berwick.

About this time, notice came to the King's servants at Edinburgh, that all the regiments of British infantry in that army commanded by General Wade, (which had been marching backwards and forwards by the east road, while the rebels were advancing and retreating by the west road,) were put under the command of General Hawley, and ordered to march from Newcastle to Edinburgh, where they were to be join-

ed by part of that army which had been commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. As the Highlanders remained seven or eight days at Glasgow, the apprehension of a visit from them abated, but did not cease altogether till the 2d of January, when the first division of the Kings's troops, consisting of two regiments of foot, arrived at Edinburgh: this division was followed, day after day, by several divisions of the same strength. On the day that the first division arrived, the rebels left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling in two divisions: one division, led by Charles, marched by Kilsyth, where they staid the first night: the other division, under the command of Lord George Murray, went by Cumbernauld. Next day, their army marched on towards Stirling: when they came near the town, Charles took up his quarters in the house of Bannockburn, and his men were cantoned in the neighbouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the division under his command, in which were most of the clan regiments, occupied the town of Falkirk, as the advanced post of their army. In a day or two, the rebels invested the town of Stirling, and erecting a battery of cannon, within musket shot, summoned the Magistrates to surrender. As the town of Stirling was not fortified, and had not a garrison of regular troops, the Magistrates capitulated, and opened their gates. During this siege, if it may be called so, Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond marched with all their forces from Perth, and joined the army at Stirling, which, after the junction was made, amounted to somewhat more than 9000 men, the greatest number that Charles ever had under his command. Some battering cannon from France, having arrived at Montrose in the winter, had been sent to Perth, and were now brought over the Forth, not without great difficulty, part of them at the Ford of the Frew, and part at Alloa. It was then resolved to undertake the siege of the Castle of Stirling, which was defended by General Blackeney and a good garrison. On the 10th of January, the rebels broke ground before the Castle of Stirling, and that day Burrel's and Pultney's regiments arrived at

Edinburgh, which made the number of twelve regiments of foot, most of which had served abroad. Several other regiments were on their way to Scotland, but General Hawley * (who had come to Edinburgh on the 6th) thought the troops he had were sufficient to beat the rebels. Besides, the twelve old regiments of foot, Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, with the Glasgow regiment of foot, were quartered in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. On the 13th of January, six regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment, and Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, marched towards Stirling by Linlithgow and Borrowstouness, under the command of General Huske. Next day the other six regiments followed; upon the 16th, General Hawley left Edinburgh to join the army, and with all his troops collected, encamped in a field at the west end of Falkirk, which is only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had fixed his head-quarters, having all his troops about him, except 1000 men of the Low-Country regiments, which were left at Stirling to carry on the siege of the castle, under the command

* Soon after General Hawley came to town, the Lieutenant of the Edinburgh Company of Volunteers (Author of this History) waited on General Hawley, and asked his permission for the volunteers to march with the King's army, which the General very readily granted; but next morning a message came from General Hawley, to desire that the same officer would call at the Abbey next day before twelve o'clock. When that officer came, General Hawley told him that he designed to employ the company of volunteers in a piece of service which he thought very essential. The officer asked, if it was a piece of service where action might be expected. The General said, that there might be action, or there might not. The officer begged that the General would allow him to consult his friends, which he did, and returning to the General, told him that the volunteers, who had taken arms with a view to serve in the field, could not possibly undertake any other service, and hoped that General Hawley would not recal the permission he had given them to march with the army. Certainly not, said the General, and you may tell them so.

The piece of service in which General Hawley intended to employ the company of volunteers, was to send them to Glammis and other places in the north, that they might bring away the officers who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Preston, and sent to several places upon their parole.

of Gordon of Glenbucket. In the morning of the 17th, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and 1000 Argyleshire Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell (now Duke of Argyle) joined the King's army. When these troops joined General Hawley, the two armies were but seven miles distant from one another, for the Highland army was drawn up on Plean Muir, which is two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood, once a great wood, but now much decayed, lay between the two armies. The high road from Stirling to Falkirk by Bannockburn, passes through what was once the middle of the Torwood: upon that high road which is to the north of the greater part of the wood, as it now stands, a body of the rebels, both horse and foot, made their appearance about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and moved about with standards and colours displayed: the parade they made was plainly seen from General Hawley's camp, and every body looked at them, expecting the enemy from that quarter. A little before one o'clock, two * officers of the third regiment of foot climbed a tree near the camp, and fixed a telescope, with which they saw the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. They immediately informed Lieutenant Colonel Howard, their commanding officer, of what they had seen, who went to Callender House where General Hawley was, and told him that the rebels were marching towards the King's army. The General said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but that there was no necessity for them to be under arms. Between one and two o'clock, some people who attended the army well mounted, and rode about to procure intelligence, came in upon the spur, and reported that the rebel army was advancing by the south side of the Torwood; that they had seen them on the other side of the river Carron, which they were going to cross at Dunipace †. The Highlanders coming by Dunipace were evidently pointing towards

* One of the officers is now Colonel Teesdale.

† Dunipace is about three miles and a half from Falkirk.

Falkirk Muir, and the high ground on the left of the King's army. General Hawley, not being come from Callender, this piece of intelligence alarmed the troops: one might hear the officers saying to one another, where is the General? what shall be done? we have no orders. The commanding officers, in the meantime, formed their regiments upon the ground in the front of their camp. When General Hawley came, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march to the Muir, and take possession of the high ground between them and the rebels: he ordered the infantry to follow. At the very instant the regiments of foot began to march, the day was overcast, and by and by a storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the Dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The rebel army was marching in two columns about 200 paces asunder. The column which was to the south-west, and marched on the right of the other, consisted of all the Low-Country regiments, of the Maclachlans, with the Athol brigade, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. The column to the north-east consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits sent up to them from the Highlands, with those clans formerly mentioned, who had been at Perth great part of the winter. The three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of this column to the north, got first to the top of the hill; and taking their ground where they had a morass upon their right flank, turned their back to the storm. The dragoons, who had not been able to prevent the Highlanders from gaining the high ground, halted at some distance from the Macdonalds, who were standing still to give time to those regiments that made part of the column with them, to form on their left; and to the south-west column to form the second line. In a short time their columns were reduced into two lines: the first line consisted altoge-

ther of Highlanders. The three Macdonald regiments, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, had the right, standing in the order they are mentioned: next to the Macdonalds of Glengary, stood a small battalion of Farquharsons *. On the left of the Farquharsons were the Mackenzies, the Macintoshes, the Macphersons, the Frasers, the Camerons, and the Stuarts. The second line consisted of the Athol brigade, which had the right; of Lord Ogilvie's regiment and Lord Lewis Gordon's, (each of them two battalions;) of the Maclachlans, and Lord John Drummond's regiment.

Charles placed himself in the rear of the second line with the Irish piquets, and some horse †, as a body of reserve.

The infantry of the King's army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve. The first line consisted of a battalion of the Royal, of the regiments of Wolf, Cholmondeley, Pultney, Price, and Ligonier. The Royal had the right of the first line, and Wolfe's regiment the left. The second line consisted of Burrel's regiment, Blakeney's, Monroe's, Battereau's, and

* The Farquharsons had two regiments in the rebel army; for, like the Macdonalds, they had more than one chief. Farquharson of Invercauld, one of their chiefs, was a Captain of foot in the King's army, but his clan, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, one of the Chieftains, made part of the rebel army. Farquharson of Bumarrel, with his men, was in the first line at the battle of Falkirk. Monaltry, with his regiment of Farquharsons, escorted the cannon of the rebel army, and was not in the action.

† As to the position of their cavalry, the rebel officers gave different accounts of it. Some of them said, that the two troops of horse guards, and Pitsligo's horse, were posted between the first and second line. Other officers said, that most of the horse were on the flanks of their second line, or rather behind it. Lord George Murray, in his account of the battle of Falkirk, says, that Lord Elcho, with his troop of horse guards, and some other horse, were drawn up behind the Athol brigade, which having a morass on its right, there was not room for the horse to form between the brigade and the morass. Lord John Drummond, who commanded the body of troops that made the feint, remained with them upon the high road, till the Highlanders passed the Carron; he then crossed over, followed the army, and joined Charles who was with the reserve.

Battle of Falkirk, 17th January, 1745.

REBEL ARMY:

Lord John Drummond	Appin
	Locheil
	Frazer
Lord Lewis Gordon	M'Pherson
	M'Intosh
	Cromarty
Charles Piquets.	Farquharson
Ogilvie	Glengary
Athol	Clan Ronald
Athol	Keppoch

KING'S ARMY.

<u>Hamilton</u>	<u>Ligonier</u>	<u>Cobham</u>	<u>Dragoons</u>
<u>Wolfe</u>	<u>Cholmondeley</u>	<u>Pultney</u>	<u>Price</u>
<u>Ligonier</u>	<u>Royal</u>	<u>Batterau</u>	<u>Burrell</u>
<u>Blackney</u>	<u>Monro</u>	<u>Fleming</u>	<u>Howard's</u>

Fleming's: Burrel's regiment had the right of this line, and Blakeney's the left. Howard's regiment formed a body of reserve. The dragoons that were advanced before the infantry, and a good way to their left, having large intervals between their squadrons, extended so far that they covered a great part of the first line of the rebel army, for the left of the dragoons was opposite to Keppoch's regiment, and their right to the centre of Lord Lovat's, which was the third regiment from the left of the rebels. Behind the greater part of this body of cavalry there was no infantry but the Glasgow regiment, which, being newly levied, was not allowed to have a place either in the first or second line, but stood by itself near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons. Most of the regiments of foot in the King's army were standing on the declivity of the hill. More than one regiment, both of the first and second line, stood higher up, and on ground somewhat more plain and level. The Highlanders towards the left of their first line saw the foot of the King's army; the Highlanders on the right of the first line saw no foot at all; for besides the great inequality of the ground, the storm of wind and rain continued, and the darkness increased so much, that nobody could see very far. To conclude this account of the field of battle, and the position of the regiments, there was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the King's army from the left of the rebels. This ravine began on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite to the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, and went down due north, still deeper and wider to the plain. The right of the King's army, standing on the east side of this ravine, outlined the left of the rebels by two regiments, and the right of the rebels outlined the left of the King's infantry much more. Neither army had any cannon with them; for the Highlanders had marched so fast, to get to the high ground before the dragoons, that they had left their field pieces about a mile behind them: General Hawley's cannon were stuck fast at the bottom of the hill. The infantry of the King's army not being completely formed, (for

several companies of Fleming's regiment were only coming up to take their place in the centre of the second line,) when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels: Colonel Ligonier, with the three regiments of dragoons, advanced against the Highlanders, who at that very instant began to move towards the dragoons. Lord George Murray * was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about, and fled directly back: Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch, to keep their ranks, and stand firm. The same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to their left, (whose fire had repulsed the dragoons,) immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire: the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their musquets, drew their swords and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the first line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout; and for some time General

* Lord George Murray, from the place where he stood on the right of the first line, saw none of the infantry of the King's army; and he ordered Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson (the guide at the battle of Preston) who were both on horseback, to go as near the dragoons as they could, and see if there was any foot behind them; they went very near the dragoons, and returning to Lord George Murray, told him they had not seen any infantry. Lord George immediately ordered his men to march and attack the dragoons.

Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing *; but Burrel's regiment stood, and joined by part of two regiments of the first line, (Price's and Ligonier's,) moved to their left, till they came directly opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began to fire upon them across the ravine. The Highlanders returned the fire, but the fire of the King's troops was so much superior, that the rebels, after losing a good many men, fell back a little, still keeping the high ground on their side of the ravine. The stand which these regiments made put a stop to the pursuit, and recalled the pursuers; who, when they heard so much fire behind them, turned back, and made what haste they could to the ground where they stood before the battle began, expecting to find their second line; but when they came there, the second line was not to be found. Most of the men in those regiments which stood behind the clans of the first line that attacked the foot of the King's army, seeing the wonderful success of that attack, crowded in after the pursuers, and followed the chace; but many of the men belonging to the regiments that were thinned in this manner, hearing the repeated fires given by the King's troops across the ravine,

* General Hawley, when he sent the order to Colonel Ligonier to attack the rebels, was standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons. When the dragoons were repulsed by the fire of the rebels, and most of the regiments of foot, attacked in front and flank, gave way, General Hawley, involved in a crowd of horse and foot, came to the Edinburgh company of volunteers, which, having marched up the hill in the rear of Fleming's regiment, was standing by itself, and had not begun to fly. The company was commanded by their lieutenant; for the Captain, William Macghie, when the alarm came that the rebels were marching towards the King's army, had gone in quest of General Hawley to know if he pleased to assign the company of volunteers any post which they would do their utmost to maintain. The Lieutenant knew General Hawley very well, having waited on him several times at Holyrood House, and asked if there were any regiments standing? where they were? The General made no answer to his questions, but pointing to a fold for cattle which was close by, called to him to get in there with his men. The disorder and confusion increased, and General Hawley rode down the hill.

thought it was most likely that the Highland army would be defeated ; and that the best thing they could do was to save themselves by leaving the field when they might ; accordingly they did so, and went off to the westward. At this moment the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war, whose great events Fortune is said to rule *. Part of the King's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place ; for the Athol brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line, and joined Lord George Murray, where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left, (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine,) there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chace, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords. By and by Lord George Murray, with his men, joined them, and Charles, with the Irish piquets, and some other troops of the reserve, came up from the rear. The presence of Charles encouraged the Highlanders : he commended their valour ; made them take up the musquets which lay thick upon the ground ; and ordering them to follow him, led them to the brow of the hill. At the approach of so considerable a body of men, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, which, having always kept together, was coming up the hill again, turned back, and went down to the place where the regiments of foot were standing who had behaved so well, and retreating with them in good order, joined the rest of the army who had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, where the Argyleshire Highlanders had been left by General Hawley, when he marched with his troops to meet the enemy. The storm of wind and rain continued as violent as ever :

* In rebus bellicis maximè dominatur Fortuna. TACITUS.

night was coming on, for the battle began a little before four o'clock *. Before it grew quite dark, General Hawley gave orders to set fire to the tents, and marching his army through the town of Falkirk, retreated to Linlithgow, leaving behind him seven pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of provision, ammunition, and baggage. While the tents were burning, two officers of the rebel army, Mr. Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, and Mr. Oliphant, younger of Gask, came down from the hill to the town of Falkirk (disguised like peasants) to procure intelligence; and returning to their friends, assured them that the King's army had left Falkirk, and was gone towards Linlithgow. A strong body of Highlanders, commanded by Lord George Murray, immediately took possession of the town of Falkirk.

Every person who reads this account, or any other account of the battle of Falkirk, will be apt to think it very strange that General Hawley should order †

* One of the Edinburgh company of volunteers pulled out his watch at the first fire, and said it wanted just ten minutes of four o'clock. The battle of Falkirk did not last very long. Several officers of the King's army, and some others who were taken prisoners, had frequent opportunities of conversing with the rebel officers, and they agreed in opinion, that the interval between the first fire and the retreat of Burrel's regiment did not exceed twenty minutes. Farquharson of Monaltry (who commanded the body of men that escorted the cannon of the rebels) was about a mile behind the army; when he heard the first fire, he left a small party of his men with the cannon, and with the rest marched on as fast as he could to join the army. In his way he met 200 or 300 men flying to the westward; he made them turn back and return with him to the field. When he came there, the firing had ceased; and he saw Burrel's regiment, with part of the two regiments of foot that had joined them, and Cobham's regiment of dragoons, retreating to the camp.

† The order sent to Colonel Ligonier, was carried by Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, Lord Bute's brother (afterwards Lord Privy Seal for Scotland) who acted that day as Aid-de-camp to General Hawley. The Colonel and Mr. Mackenzie were intimate friends; and when the Colonel received General Hawley's order, he said it was the most extraordinary order that ever was given. The author of this history having frequently conversed with Mr. Mackenzie concerning the battle of Falkirk, shewed him, many years after

700 or 800 dragoons to attack 8000 foot drawn up in two lines. It is said, and generally believed, that General Hawley, when he heard that the Highlanders were about to cross the Carron at Dunipace, did not think they were coming to attack his army, but imagined that they were going to give him the slip, and march back to England: that in this conceit he ordered his dragoons and foot to march up the hill, intercept the rebels, and force them to come to an action. Hence the conflict happened upon a piece of ground which he had never viewed, and was a field of battle exceedingly disadvantageous to his troops. As for the order given to the officer who commanded the dragoons to attack the whole Highland army, it is proper to inform the reader, that General Hawley had been Major of Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where that regiment, with the Scots Greys, led by the Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, getting over a morass, (which the intense frost of one night had rendered passable,) attacked * the flank of the rebel army, rode down, and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders.

When the news of the battle of Preston came to the army in Flanders, General Hawley reprobated the conduct of Mr. Cope, and said in a company of officers, "that he knew the Highlanders, they were good militia, but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons who attacked them well." Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburne† was one of the company of officers that heard this speech of General Hawley's, and he allows his name to be

the rebellion, the account which is here given of what passed between the Colonel and him, when he delivered General Hawley's order. Mr. Mackenzie hesitated a little, and said, he was not sure whether or no he had told Mr. Home that Colonel Ligonier said, it was the most extraordinary order that ever was given: but he was very sure the Colonel looked as if he thought so.

* The battle of Sheriffmuir was fought on the 13th of November, O. S. in the year 1715, and the Highlanders thought the flank of their army secure.

† Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th regiment of dragoons, when he retired from the service.

mentioned with this anecdote, which accounts for the order given to Colonel Ligonier.

In this ill-conducted battle, many brave officers of the King's army fell*.

As Edinburgh is but twenty-four miles from Falkirk, several spectators who had made haste from the field, and some dragoons who had fled upon the spur of fear, reached Edinburgh before nine o'clock at night, and brought dreadful accounts of what they had seen, adding many circumstances which they had not seen. Next day the army came to Edinburgh about four o'clock in the afternoon: their appearance disproved the report of those fugitives who had said that the army was totally routed and dispersed; but their appearance proved also, that the affair of Falkirk (as some people called it) was a bad affair.

At no time, from the beginning to the end of the Rebellion, were the real friends to the Constitution of their country more dejected, or more apprehensive, than they were when they saw the troops return from Falkirk, who had marched against the rebels a few days before, as they thought to certain victory.

These troops, they sadly reflected, were not the raw soldiers of General Cope's army, who had never seen an enemy till they met the Highlanders at Preston, but they were the veteran troops of Britain, who had fought the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy.

On the other hand, the rebels were not so much elated as some people thought they had reason to be with their victory. Their Generals blamed one another, that it was not so complete as it might have been, when so many circumstances concurred in their

* One Colonel (Sir Robert Monro,) three Lieutenant Colonels, Lieutenant Colonel Whitney (of the regiment late Gardner's,) Lieutenant Colonel Bigger of Monro's regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's; five Captains of Wolfe's, and one Lieutenant; four Captains of Blakeney's and two Lieutenants, were killed, with about 300 or 400 private men.

The Highlanders acknowledged that their army lost three Captains and four subalterns, with 40 men killed, and twice as many wounded.

favour. The advantage of ground, the surprise, the storm, General Hawley's order to the dragoons to attack a whole army, the acknowledged misbehaviour of some regiments, were circumstances not likely to be ever combined again.

Lord George Murray said, that the victory would have been complete, if Lord John Drummond (who should have commanded on the left) had been in his place; that he might have ordered some regiments from the second line to face the regiments on the right of the King's army, who out-lined the left of the Highlanders. If that had been done, Lord George Murray maintained that none of the foot could have escaped, but must all have been killed or taken.

Lord John Drummond and others blamed Lord George Murray for preventing the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and a good many men of the other two Macdonald regiments, from advancing with the rest of the Highlanders when they attacked the foot. Sullivan, Adjutant-General, was also blamed for keeping out of harm's way, at the battle of Falkirk: none of the officers of the first line of the Highland army saw him till the action was over; or any other General except Lord George Murray.

Altercation, contention, and animosity, prevailed in this irregular and undisciplined army, which it was not an easy matter to command.

Charles, with his army, remained at Falkirk the night after the battle, without attempting to pursue the King's troops in their retreat to Linlithgow. Next day he returned to his quarters at Bannockburn, after having seen a tumult among the Highlanders.

Lord Kilmarnock, in the morning of the 18th, came to Falkirk, which is within half a mile of his house at Callender, (where he had passed the night,) bringing with him a party of his men to guard some prisoners who had been taken in the retreat, and carried to Callender. Lord Kilmarnock left the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, just before the house where Charles lodged, and going up stairs, presented to Charles a list of his prisoners, who were the

two officers * and some private men of the company of volunteers mentioned in the account of the battle. Charles opened the window to look at the prisoners, and stood for some time with the list in his hand, asking questions (as they thought) about them, of Lord Kilmarnock.

Meanwhile, a soldier in the uniform of one of the King's regiments, made his appearance in the street of Falkirk, which was full of Highlanders: he was armed with a musket and bayonet, and had a black cockade in his hat. When the volunteers saw a soldier with his firelock in his hand coming towards Charles, they were amazed, and fancied a thousand things; they expected every moment to hear a shot. Charles observing that the volunteers (who were within a few yards of him) looked all one way, turned his head that way too: he seemed surprised; and calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed to the soldier. Lord Kilmarnock came down stairs immediately: when he got to the street, the soldier was just opposite to the window where Charles stood. Kilmarnock came up to the fellow, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot on the black cockade. At that instant a Highlander came running from the other side of the street, laid hands on Lord Kilmarnock, and pushed

* William Macghie, Captain of the Edinburgh company of volunteers, having gone in quest of General Hawley, as has been mentioned, could not find the General, and just before the battle began, he joined Blakeney's regiment, which was one of the regiments that suffered most, and being driven from the field of battle, rallied with the other regiments on the ground before their camp. There Mr. Macghie found the Lieutenant and several private men of his company, with whom he left Falkirk, soon after the King's troops quitted that town; and falling still more behind the army in their march to Linlithgow, he with his Lieutenant and four private men were made prisoners by the rebels. The private men were Thomas Barrow, Student of Physic at the University of Edinburgh; Robert Douglas, also Student of Physic; Robert Alexander, son of Mr. Alexander, afterwards Provost of Edinburgh; and Neil Macvicar, Student of Law, son to the Minister of Isla. It seems proper to mention, in this manner, the volunteers who were taken prisoners, as there will be occasion to say more of them hereafter.

him back. Kilmarnock pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander drew his dirk, and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in, and drove away Lord Kilmarnock. The man with the dirk in his hand took up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This piece of dumb shew, of which they understood nothing, perplexed the volunteers. They expressed their astonishment to a Highland officer who stood near them; and entreated him to explain the meaning of what they had seen. He told them that the soldier in the uniform of the Royal was a Cameron: "Yesterday," said he, "when your army was defeated, he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with great joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed, and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion," continued the officer, "no Colonel nor General in the Prince's army can take that cockade* out of his hat, except Locheil himself."

When Charles, with his guards, returned to Bannockburn, Lord George Murray with the Highland regiments remained at Falkirk; and the Duke of Perth with the Lowcountry regiments, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, returned to Stirling to carry on the siege of the castle, which proceeded very slowly for want of engineers and regular troops; and the few men of that description which the Duke of Perth had with him, found the service very hard, their works being levelled, and

* This behaviour of the Highlanders to Lord Kilmarnock, in presence of Charles, occasioned that investigation into Clan-ship, made by the Author of this history, which enabled him to write that account of the manners of the Highlanders which is contained in the Introduction.

their batteries demolished, by the superior fire of the castle.

During this siege, the rebels sent most of the prisoners from Stirling to the castle of Downe, amongst whom were the officers and some private men of the Edinburgh company of volunteers. When General Hawley came to Edinburgh his army was reinforced by two regiments of foot*, the 25th and 21st, that had served abroad, and behaved remarkably well on every occasion : notwithstanding that reinforcement, which the quality of the troops rendered considerable, the army remained at Edinburgh till the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland†, who came to the palace of Holyrood House on Thursday the 30th of January, at three o'clock in the morning.

That day he carefully inspected the condition of the troops ; and having raised the spirits of the men by his presence, (for the soldiers wished nothing so much as to have him for their commander instead of General Hawley‡,) he marched his army next day towards the enemy. It was not expected that he would march so soon ; and the confidence which the Duke shewed, by marching immediately against the Highlanders, had no small effect in animating his troops, and inspiring them with the same confidence which their General had of victory.

The army with which the Duke marched from Edinburgh consisted of fourteen battalions of foot, with two regiments of dragoons, Lord Cobham's and Lord Mark Ker's. Besides the regular troops there

* The 25th arrived at Edinburgh on the 17th, before the news of the battle came to town. The 21st (the Scots Fusileers) arrived at Musselburgh on the 18th.

† On the 30th of January, the Duke of Cumberland came to Edinburgh ; on the 31st he marched his army to Linlithgow : on the 1st of February, the Duke's army was marching to Falkirk, when intelligence came that the rebels had left Stirling, and retreated to the Highlands.

‡ When General Hawley returned to Edinburgh with his army, he ordered several officers and soldiers to be tried for bad behaviour at the battle of Falkirk ; two or three soldiers were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer was cashiered.

were 1000 Argyleshire Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell *. The Duke of Cumberland, with his army, marched from Edinburgh in two columns. One column of eight battalions was commanded by the Duke himself, and marching to Linlithgow, quartered there. The other column, consisting of six battalions, was commanded by General Huske, and marching to Borrowstounness took up their quarters in that town. The dragoons and Argyleshire men were cantoned in the adjacent villages.

When the Duke of Cumberland, with his division, came to Linlithgow, Charles was at the house of Bannockburn, with a great part of his troops quartered in the town of Stirling and the neighbouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the Clan regiments under his command, was at Falkirk.

A battle seemed inevitable; and it was expected that the two armies would meet again near the place where they had fought before. Early next morning intelligence came to Linlithgow that Lord George Murray, with the men under his command, had retreated from Falkirk to the Torwood, where it was thought that, with all his forces united, Charles meant to make a stand.

As the Duke's army was marching towards Falkirk, the foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said that the whole army of the rebels was going off to the westward.

Soon after this information, two great explosions, like the blowing up of magazines, were heard; and the Duke immediately detached the Argyleshire Highlanders, and all his dragoons, under the command of General Mordaunt, to pursue the enemy. But General Mordaunt did not overtake the rebels, who having raised the siege of Stirling Castle, spiked their heavy cannon, and blown up their magazines, went off in great disorder and confusion, crossing the River Forth at the Ford of the Frew. Such was the second retreat, or rather flight, of the rebel army be-

* The present Duke of Argyle.

fore the King's troops, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland.

The resolution to retreat was a sudden resolution. It had been determined to fight the King's army; and all the sick and wounded men, with the women, were sent to Dunblane. On the 28th, Lord George Murray came to Bannockburn, and shewed Charles a plan which he had drawn of the battle to be fought. Charles was extremely pleased with it; and made several corrections with his own hand. That night Charles was unusually gay; and sat up very late. Next morning Lord George Murray's aid-de-camp came to Bannockburn with a packet from Lord George. Charles was in bed, and John Hay, who was always about him, and sometimes acted as secretary, would not allow him to be called. When he got up, Hay went into his room with the packet. Charles opened it, and found a paper, signed by Lord George Murray, and all the chiefs who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the north, which they said was absolutely necessary, as the Duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced since the battle, and the number of the Highland army was much diminished; for besides the loss of men at the siege of Stirling Castle, a great many Highlanders (particularly the Macdonalds * of Glengary) had gone home to the Highlands, and were not returned. When Charles read this paper, he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed against Lord George Murray, to whose management he imputed the remonstrance of the Chiefs. The day on which the Highlanders left Stirling, General Moradant, with his troops, took possession of that town, and next day the Duke of Cumberland entered Stirling; where he immediately gave orders for repairing the bridge, one arch of which had been cut down in the month of December, when General Blakeney

* The Macdonalds of Glengary had lost their Colonel, Angus Macdonald, (the second son to their chief,) who was killed in the street of Falkirk, a day or two after the battle, by the accidental going off of a piece.

understood that the rebels were assembling at Perth, in such numbers as made it convenient for him to interrupt the communication between Perth and Stirling.

The same day the Duke of Cumberland's army marched from Edinburgh to attack the rebels; the officers and men of the Edinburgh company of volunteers, taken prisoners on the 17th, made their escape from the Castle of Downe, to which they, with many other prisoners, had been sent on the 25th. The Castle of Downe, built by Murdoch Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, during the captivity of James the First, was in a most ruinous condition when the volunteers came there. The place of their abode was a large ghastly room, the highest part of the castle, and next the battlements. In one end of this room there were two small vaults or cells, in one of which the volunteers* passed the night, with three other persons, one of whom was Mr. John Witherspoon, then a clergyman of the church of Scotland, afterwards President of the College of Jersey in America; the other two were citizens of Aberdeen, who had been taken up in the north country as spies, and threatened to be hanged by the rebels. In the other cell were also eight persons, who, like Mr. Witherspoon, had come to Falkirk from curiosity to see a battle, and were taken prisoners in the general sweep which the rebels made after the battle.

Each of the cells had a door which might be made fast by those on the inside when they went to sleep, having straw to lie upon, and blankets to cover them, which they had purchased from some people in the village of Downe.

From this account of the condition of the prisoners in the Castle of Downe, it may be taken for granted, that when the volunteers were brought there, they thought of nothing but how to get away. Their

* There were only five volunteers, officers included; for Robert Alexander, one of the volunteers taken prisoners in the retreat, was kept at Stirling, as the rebels expected that his father, one of the most opulent citizens in Edinburgh, would pay a ransom of £5000 to have him set at liberty.

first scheme was to establish a communication with the other prisoners, whose number they knew was considerable ; for there were above 100 soldiers of the King's army, a good many Argyleshire men, and some men of the Glasgow regiment ; so that the whole number of prisoners, who had carried arms, might amount to 150 men.

To guard the prisoners, there was a party of twenty or twenty-five Highlanders, relieved every day from a detachment of the rebel army, quartered at the village of Downe.

A centinel, who stood two or three paces from the door of the room where the volunteers were lodged, allowed any of them that pleased to go up to the battlements, which were above seventy feet high. From the battlements, one of the volunteers, with no small difficulty, made his way to the place where the soldiers and other prisoners were confined ; but as there was not one officer with them, he returned the way he went, and told his companions that their scheme of escaping by force was at an end. Another of the volunteers instantly proposed that they should make a rope of the blankets they had, by which they might descend from the battlements to the ground, on the west side of the castle, where there was no centinel. The proposal was agreed to, and being communicated to the three prisoners who lodged in the cell with them, the two men from Aberdeen agreed to join the volunteers in their attempt to escape. Mr. Witherspoon said that he would go to the battlements and see what happened, that if they succeeded, he would probably follow their example.

To prevent suspicion of their design, some of the volunteers always kept company with the other persons in the great room, which was common to all, whilst the rest of them, barring the door of their cell, were at work till they finished the rope, of which they resolved to make use the very night it was completed. The two officers then claimed it as their right to be the first that should hazard themselves, and prove the strength of the rope ; but that claim was objected to ; and all the volunteers, with the two

men taken up as spies, drew lots for the order in which they should descend. The captain showed * No. 1, the lieutenant No. 2.

When every thing was adjusted they went up to the battlements, fastened the rope, and about one o'clock in the morning began to descend. The two officers, with Robert Douglas, and one of the men taken up as spies, got down very well, but the fifth man, one of the spies, who was very tall and big, coming down in a hurry, the rope brake with him just as his feet touched the ground. The lieutenant standing by the wall of the castle, called to the volunteer †, whose turn it was to come down next, not to attempt it; for that twenty or thirty feet were broken off from the rope. Notwithstanding this warning, which he heard distinctly, he put himself upon the rope, and coming down as far as it lasted, let go his hold: his friend Douglas and the lieutenant, who were both of them above the middle size, as soon as they saw him upon the rope (for it was moon-light) put themselves under him, to break his fall, which in part they did; but falling from so great a height, he brought them both to the ground, dislocated one of his ancles, and broke several of his ribs. In this extremity the lieutenant raised him from the ground, and taking him upon his back, for he was slender and not very tall, carried him towards the road which led to Alloa. When the lieutenant was not able to go any farther with his burthen, other two of the company holding each of them one of Mr. Barrow's arms, helped him to hop along upon one leg. In this manner they went on very slowly a mile or so; but thinking that, at the rate they proceeded, they would

* Captain Macghie had drawn No. 4, but changed it with one of the men from Aberdeen, who had drawn No. 1.

† The name of this volunteer was Thomas Barrow, (the only Englishman in the company,) who, a minute or two before they began to descend, had told the lieutenant, that if the rope should break after the officers and his friend Douglas had got down, (whose numbers were prior to his,) he would rather die than be left alone among the barbarians; and was resolved to follow his friends at all hazards.

certainly be overtaken, they resolved to call at the first house they should come to. When they came to a house, they found a friend, for the landlord, who rented a small farm, was a whig, and as soon as he knew who they were, ordered one of his sons to bring a horse from the stable, take the lame gentleman behind him, and go as far as his assistance was necessary. Thus equipped, they went on by Alloa to Tullyallan, a village near the sea, where they hired a boat to carry them off to the Vulture sloop of war, which was lying at anchor in the Frith of Forth. Captain Falconer of the Vulture received them very kindly, and gave them his barge to carry them to Queensferry. In their way to that place, they saw some regiments of General Huske's division marching between Hopetoun House and Borrowstounness.

When the volunteers made their escape in this manner, Neil Macvicar, one of them, was left in the Castle of Downe, for he had drawn the last number, and standing upon the battlements, saw the disaster of his friends. He concluded that the rope was not strong enough, and pulled it up, carried it to the cell, where there were some blankets, with which he completed the rope, beginning at the place where it had given way; and adding a good deal to its thickness, he went up to the battlements, fastened the rope, and put himself upon it. He came down very well till he reached that part of the rope where he had added so much to its thickness that his hand could not grasp it, and falling from the same height that Mr. Barrow had done, but having no body to break his fall, was so grievously hurt, bruised, and maimed, that he never recovered, but languished and died soon afterwards at the house of his father, who was a clergyman in the Island of Isla.

CHAP. IX.

The Duke of Cumberland pursues the Rebels—Halts at Perth—Sends several Detachments of his Army to different Places—The Prince of Hesse, with a Body of his Troops, escorted by Ships of War, arrives in the Firth of Forth—The Duke of Cumberland comes from Perth to visit the Prince of Hesse—A Council of War at Edinburgh—The Duke of Cumberland returns to Perth—Sends several Regiments to Dundee—Marches himself with the main Body of his Army to Aberdeen—Halts there some time—Charles with a few Men at Mayo, near Inverness—An attempt made by Lord Loudon to seize him—The attempt defeated—Charles assembles his Men—Marches to Inverness—Lord Loudon retreats to Ross-shire—Charles Besieges the Castle of Inverness—The Castle surrenders—Various Expeditions of the Rebels while the Duke's Army lay at Aberdeen—Account of these Expeditions—An Order from Charles to the Commanding Officers to desist from them, and join him at Inverness.

ON the 4th of February, the Duke of Cumberland, with his army, marched along the bridge of Stirling, on his way to Dunblane and Crief, following the route of the Highlanders, who had passed through these towns. At Crief the rebel army had separated: one division, consisting of the Western Highlanders, under the command of Charles, marched north by the Highland road; the other division, in which there were several clans, and all the Low-country regiments, under the command of Lord George Murray, marched by the coast road which leads through Montrose and Aberdeen to Inverness. A few Highlanders took a middle road by Braemar, which led to their own part of the country.

From Crief the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to Perth, where his army halted for some days, and the duke having sent a detachment of 500 men to the

Castle of Blair, and another detachment of 200 men to Castle Menzies, returned to Edinburgh to visit the Prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, who, with about 5000 men in thirty-six transports, escorted by four ships of war, arrived in the road of Leith on the 8th of February.

The Duke of Cumberland staid only one night at Edinburgh, where his Royal Highness and the Prince of Hesse held a council of war, to determine their future operations. In this council of war, which was held at Lord Milton's, all the Generals gave it as their opinion that the war was at an end; and that his Royal Highness had nothing to do but to give his orders to the officers under him to march into the Highlands, as soon as the season would permit, and ferret the rebels out of their strong-holds and fastnesses; for it was evident, they said, that the rebels would never risk a battle against an army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness having heard the General Officers, desired to know what Lord Milton thought of the state of affairs; who excused himself from giving his opinion in a council of war, as he was not a military man. The Duke insisted upon hearing Lord Milton's opinion, who knew the country of the Highlands, and the Highlanders, better than any person present. Lord Milton then said, that he wished he might be mistaken in the opinion he was called upon to give; for his knowledge of the Highlands and the Highlanders inclined him to think that the rebellion was not at an end; that as the King's troops could not follow the Highlanders through their wild and unaccommodated country in the winter season, he was persuaded that the rebels, divided and scattered as they were, would unite again, and risk a battle before they gave up the cause.

The day after this council of war, the Duke of Cumberland returned to Perth, where he remained for some days, sent forward three regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee; and on the 10th of February the main body of the army, commanded by the Duke himself, began their march to

the northward by the coast road, and halting both at Dundee and Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen the 27th.

While the Duke with his army remained at Aberdeen, the Prince of Hesse marched his troops by Stirling to Perth, and fixed his head quarters there. Thus the country near Perth and Aberdeen was secured from the incursions of the Highlanders, and several posts to the north of the Castle of Blair were occupied by the Argyleshiremen, or small parties of the regulars.

The Highlanders having retreated to their mountains, in several divisions, which they could unite or separate, and mix their troops as they pleased, found themselves masters of that part of the kingdom where there was no force to oppose them but that body of men which Lord Loudon and the President had assembled in the north, when Charles and his army marched to England.

Lord Loudon's army (as it was called) consisted of his own regiment, and eighteen independent companies, with some hundred Macdonalds and Macleods, who had come from the Isle of Skye, with Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod. With this small army Lord Loudon had very near put an end to the war.

When Charles, with that division of the army which he led, came near Inverness, the other part of his army was at no great distance from him, on the road to Inverness by the coast; and as neither of them were under any apprehensions from the neighbourhood of Lord Loudon's army, Charles allowed his men to straggle about in their own country; and he with a very few men about him, took up his quarters at Moy, the seat of Macintosh, which is but nine or ten miles from Inverness.

Lord Loudon, informed that Charles had only 500 or 600 men with him at Moy, marched from Inverness with 1500 men on the evening of the 16th, as soon as it was quite dark.

Of this design against her guest, Lady Macintosh

was informed in the evening by two letters * from Inverness.

Without saying a word to Charles or any of his company, she ordered five or six of her people, well armed, under the conduct of a country smith, to watch the road from Inverness, and give notice if they should perceive any number of men coming towards Moy.

Lord Loudon's troops were within three miles of the place, when the noise which they made in marching was heard by the smith and his party, who immediately gave them a fire, and running here and there, called upon the Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and left, repeating often the well known names of Locheil and Keppoch.

Lord Loudon's men, who thought the whole Highland army was coming, turned their backs, and striving who should be foremost in running away, many of them who first began to fly were thrown down, and trod upon. The panic, fear, and flight, continued till they got near Inverness, without having been in any danger but that of being trampled to death; which many of them (when they were lying upon the ground, and trod upon † by such numbers) thought they could not possibly escape.

Charles, for whose safety the lady had provided so effectually, knew nothing of Lord Loudon's march till next morning; for he was up and dressed when the smith and his party came to Moy, and gave an account of their victory. Charles immediately gave orders to assemble his men, which was done that day, and next morning he marched them towards Inverness. Lord Loudon, at the approach of forces so much superior to his, left the town, and crossing the

* One, it is said, from Fraser of Gorthleck, and one from her own mother, who was a Whig, but did not like that Charles should be killed or taken prisoner in her daughter's house.

† William, Master of Ross, who gave this account of the night march, was one of those who were thrown down and trod upon. That gallant gentleman had been in many perils, but had never (he said) found himself in a condition so grievous as that in which he was at the route of Moy.

ferry of Kessock, retreated to Ross-shire, whither he could not be immediately pursued, for he took all the boats with him to his own side of the ferry. It was on the 18th of February that the Highland army got possession of Inverness; and from that day it may be said that the war assumed another form.

After Lord Loudon's retreat, the rebels laid siege to the Castle of Inverness (then called Fort-George,) which did not hold out long, for it surrendered on the 20th.

Lord Loudon had left there in garrison two independent companies, and one company of old soldiers, who were made prisoners; a good deal of ammunition and provisions was found in the castle, with sixteen pieces of cannon of different calibres.

Fort-George was no sooner surrendered than the rebels laid siege to Fort-Augustus, which is thirty-two miles from Inverness. The siege was carried on by the French-Irish, who, making use of some battering cannon found at Fort-George, took the place in a few days. The garrison, which consisted of three companies of Guise's regiment, were made prisoners of war.

The rebels having reduced the forts in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and knowing that they had nothing to apprehend from the Duke of Cumberland's army for some time, projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges, all of which they attempted to carry into execution in the month of March, trusting to their knowledge of the country, and the hardiness of the Highlanders, who were able to endure the rigour of a season uncommonly severe.

First of all, in the end of February, they sent off a detachment to besiege Fort-William. General Stapleton was appointed to command the troops, and conduct the siege. He had with him 300 men of the Irish piquets; and the Camerons, with the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and the Stuarts of Appin, under the command of Lochell, were to join him when he came to Fort-William.

The distance between Inverness and Fort-William is sixty-one miles, and the hilly road between these

two places (which for a great part of the way is a continuation of steep paths and passes) retarded the march of the French soldiers with their cannon so much, that they did not get to Fort-William * for many days, and did not complete their batteries, nor begin to fire from them, till the 20th of March.

Several other enterprises had been undertaken, and were carrying on at the same time ; and there is a coincidence in the date of those events that happened in the month of March, which makes this part of the story seem confused and perplexed.

In the beginning of March, Lord Cromarty was sent into Ross-shire with his own regiment, and the Mackinnons, the Macgregors, and Barrisdale's men, to dislodge Lord Loudon and his forces, who, after their retreat from Inverness, had taken possession of Ross-shire.

Lord Loudon defended himself, and stood his ground against Lord Cromarty and his detachment ; but when the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray joined Lord Cromarty with a reinforcement of some of the best men in the Highland army †, Lord Loudon crossed over the Firth of Tain to Sutherland, and quartering his troops in the town of Dornoch and the country about it, lay with the firth between him and the enemy.

Lord George Murray leaving the Duke of Perth to prosecute the war against Lord Loudon, returned to Inverness, to execute a design which he had formed, in concert with Cluny, of beating up the quarters of the King's troops in Athol.

From Inverness Lord George took with him one regiment of his Athol brigade, and proceeded to Badenoch, where he was joined by Cluny with 300 Macphersons. Cluny informed him, that he had sent forward several parties of his men to guard the passes,

* The Highlanders appeared before the fortress in the end of February.

† The Macdonalds of Clanranald, under the command of their chief, and one battalion of Lochiel's regiment commanded by his brother.

and prevent all communication between Badenoch and Athol.

In the evening of the 16th of March, when daylight began to fail, they set out from Dalwhinnie with 700 men; nobody but Lord George and Cluny knew whither they were going, or what was intended to be done. At Dalspeddel, which is about the middle of Drummochter, a halt was ordered, and the 700 men were divided into a great many parties, in each of which the Atholmen and the Macphersons were mixed in proportion to their numbers in the detachment.

Lord George then made them a speech, that declared and explained his design, which was, to attack all the posts in Athol occupied by regulars or Argyleshire men, before day-light, and as nearly as possible at the same time; he concluded his speech, by promising a reward of one guinea to every man who should surprise a centinel at his post.

The principal posts to be attacked were Bun-Rannoch, the house of Kinnachin, the house of Blairfettie, the house of Lude, the house of Faschillie, and the public house (the inn) at Blair, where, as Lord George Murray was informed, a good many officers of the 21st had taken up their quarters.

Many other small posts, commanded by non-commissioned officers, were included in the plan of attack.

The Bridge of Bruar, which is about two miles to the north of Blair, was appointed the place of rendezvous, to which all the different parties were ordered to repair, when they had discharged their duty; and there (it was told them) they should find Lord George Murray and Cluny.

The parties set out immediately, and most of them reached the places they were sent to attack before break of day.

At Bun-Rannoch there was a late-wake* that night, and the Argyleshire men quartered there were en-

* It was formerly a custom in Scotland, at the death of any person, to assemble a company of the neighbours, who sat up all

gaged as guests in that barbarous and now obsolete festivity; their centinel was surprised, the party entered the house without a shot being fired, and made them all prisoners.

At the house at Kinnachin the centinel was upon his guard, discharged his piece at the approach of the enemy and alarmed his friends, who, firing from the windows, defended themselves till the party broke into the house, and killing one man, made the rest prisoners.

At Blairfettie the centinel was surprised, and the enemy was in the house before the Argyleshire men knew they were attacked; notwithstanding which, they resisted and defended themselves for some time, before they laid down their arms.

The house of Kinnachin was occupied by a party of the 21st regiment, their centinel was surprised and killed, and the whole party made prisoners.

At Faschillie, which is not far from Lude, there was a party of Argyleshire men, who were surprised and taken.

At Blair, those who attacked the public-house met with such a resistance that all the officers escaped, and got to the Castle of Blair.

About break of day, before any of the parties had joined Lord George at the place of rendezvous, or any account had been received of their success, a common fellow from the town of Blair came to the Bridge of Bruar, and informed Lord George Murray, that Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who they were that had attacked his posts.

When Lord George and Cluny received this notice, they had with them only twenty-five private men, and some elderly gentlemen. They consulted together what should be done. Some advised, that

night in the room where the corpse lay: this company (of which some of the nearest relations always made a part) played at cards, told tales, and drank till day-light. Such was the late-wake, a custom once universal in Scotland, now almost as universally disused.

without loss of time they should make the best of their way back to Drumochter. Others were of opinion, that it would be better to mount the hills that were nearest, and make their retreat by roads where they could not easily be followed.

Lord George differed from every body who had given his opinion. "If I quit my post," said he, "all the parties I have sent out, as they come in, will fall into the hands of the enemy."

It was day-light, but the sun was not up. Lord George looking earnestly about him, observed a fold-dike (that is, a wall of sod or turf) which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished; it was of considerable length, and cut in two a field that was near the bridge. He ordered his men to follow him, and drew them up behind the dike, at such a distance from one another that they might make a great shew, having the colours of both regiments flying in their front. He then gave orders to the pipers (for he had with him all the pipers, both of the Atholmen and the Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear, to strike up with all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiment came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy pibrochs. Lord George Murray and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drew their swords, and brandished them about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing a while at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about, and marched them back to the Castle of Blair. Lord George Murray kept his post at the bridge till several of his parties * came in, and

* When all the parties came in and made their report, (some of them at the bridge of Bruar and some at the village of Blair,) it appeared that no less than thirty posts, great and small, had been attacked between three o'clock and five in the morning, and all of them carried. Though there had been a good deal of firing, few men were killed in the night attacks, for the rebels did not lose one man, and the King's troops not above three or four; but 300 men (non-commissioned officers included) were taken prisoners.

as soon as he had collected 300 or 400 men, conscious of victory, and certain that his numbers would be greater very soon, he marched to Blair and invested the castle ; but he had no battering cannon, for his whole train consisted of two small field-pieces, whose shot made no impression upon walls that were seven feet thick.

Lord George being informed that the garrison had no great stock of provisions, resolved to remain before the place, and cut off all communication between the castle and the neighbouring country, that the troops might be obliged to surrender for want of subsistence. Accordingly he placed his guards, and commenced a blockade, which continued so long, that various movements were made in the meantime by the rebels and by the King's troops, in different places, and several exploits performed, of which it is necessary to give some account.

When Lord George Murray left Ross-shire, the Duke of Perth remained there to prosecute the war against Lord Loudon, who had got into Sutherland, with the Firth of Tain between him and his enemies.

The Duke of Perth having collected a number of boats, and brought them to the town of Tain, which is directly opposite to Dornoch, he himself, with a considerable part of his forces, marched about by the head of the Firth. The men who were left at Tain embarking in the boats (at the time agreed upon with the duke) crossed the firth under cover of a thick fog, and landed without being discovered.

The Duke of Perth uniting his forces, came up near Dornoch with 200 men of Lord Loudon's regiment, commanded by the major, who had been informed, by an express from Lord Loudon, of the approach of the enemy, and was marching to join his lordship. The major, with four or five officers, and sixty men, were made prisoners, and the rest dispersed.

After this disaster, Lord Loudon separated his army ; he himself, with the President and Macleod, marched through Sutherland to the sea-coast, and embarked with 800 men for the Isle of Skye. Several

of the officers and some of the men belonging to Lord Loudon's regiment retreated to Lord Rae's country, where they had an opportunity soon after of doing a most essential piece of service.

Meanwhile, strong detachments of the King's army were sent from Aberdeen to take positions that might favour the march of the Duke of Cumberland, when he should advance with his forces into the Highlands.

On the 12th of March, a detachment, consisting of four battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, under the command of General Bland, marched from Aberdeen to Old Meldrum, which is seventeen miles onward in the road to the river Spey, that runs between Aberdeen and Inverness, and is seldom fordable in spring, except the weather be uncommonly dry.

General Bland continued to advance with his troops, and was followed on the 16th by four battalions under the command of General Mordaunt, who was ordered to sustain General Bland in his attacks upon those bodies of the rebel army that had crossed the river Spey, and had taken possession of Strathbogie, where Colonel Roy Stewart commanded a body of horse and 1000 foot.

General Bland, marching early in the morning of the 17th, had got very near Strathbogie with his troops before the rebels were informed of his approach. Colonel Stewart, with his men, immediately abandoned the town, and retreated to Fochabers.

About the end of March, the Duke of Cumberland's army was divided into three large bodies, one of which, commanded by Lord Albemarle and General Bland, lay at Strathbogie. Another lay at Old Meldrum, commanded by General Mordaunt, and the third was quartered at Aberdeen, where the Duke himself commanded.

While the army was cantoned in this manner, a detachment from the division under General Bland, consisting of seventy Argyleshire men and thirty of Kingston's horse, occupied the village of Keith, which lies between Strathbogie and Fochabers. The Highlanders, informed of the number of this detach-

ment, marched a much greater number of their men from Fochabers to Keith; and arriving there at midnight, on the 20th of March, surprised the party so completely, that almost all of them, both horse and foot, were killed or made prisoners.

All these affairs happened in the month of March, and nearly about the same time, that is, in the end of the month.

The friends of government were grieved and astonished when they heard of so many attacks made by an enemy, of whose attacks they never expected to have heard any more.

But while the enterprises of the Highlanders by land were for the most part successful, the attempts of France and Spain to send them succours by sea, generally failed. For the frigates and privateers (sometimes single ships, and sometimes two or three together) sent with supplies of men and money to the rebel army, seldom escaped the English men of war which cruised in the North seas to intercept them.

There was one vessel belonging to the rebels, which had formerly been a sloop of war in the navy of England, called the Hazard, but being captured by the Highlanders in the harbour of Montrose, her name was changed, and they called her the Prince Charles. This vessel sailed remarkably well, and had made several voyages to France.

In the end of March, the Prince Charles made her appearance in the North Seas, having on board 120 soldiers, and twenty officers (mostly Irish, in the Spanish service,) with a considerable sum of money.

An English cruiser, called the Sheerness, got sight of the Prince Charles on the 25th of March; and after a long chase, and a running fight, drove her on shore in the Bay of Tongue near Lord Reay's house.

The officers and soldiers landed immediately, taking with them, it is said, £12,000 or £13,000 in gold; but they were soon descried, and attacked by those officers and men of Lord Loudon's regiment who had come into Lord Reay's country, as has been mentioned, where they were joined by some of the Mackays, raised by Lord Reay's sons. The contest did

not last long ; the foreigners, after a very faint resistance, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves, with the money, of which Charles and his army were at that time in the greatest want*.

The month of March was now near an end, and as the cold wind of the spring, that dries the ground more than the heat of summer, had blown for some time, and made the rivers fordable, it was concluded that the Duke of Cumberland would march very soon, and attack Charles in his head-quarters at Inverness. In this belief, expresses were sent to all the officers of the rebel army, who commanded detachments at a distance, to desist from their enterprises, and hasten to Inverness with all the men under their command.

Lord George Murray having received orders to this effect, sent off his two pieces of cannon from Blair, on the 31st of March. Next day, at two o'clock in the morning, he marched with all his forces to Badenoch.

During the blockade of the castle of Blair, nothing memorable happened. Few men were killed on either side ; and the garrison suffered no distress but from want of provisions, by which they were reduced to great extremity ; and if the blockade had lasted a few days longer, it seems probable they would have been obliged to surrender.

When Lord George Murray came to Badenoch, he left the Macphersons in their own country †, and

* The rebel army had been in great distress for want of money some time before the Prince Charles was taken. Orders were sent to General Stapleton and Locheil to hasten the siege of Fort-William as much as possible ; and when they had taken the fort, as there was no prospect of getting any money unless they were in possession of the Low-country, Charles and his counsellors had determined that Locheil and Keppoch, with their own regiments, and the regiments of Clanronald, Glengary, and Appin, should march into Argyleshire, while Charles, with the rest of the clans and the Low-country regiments, should march by the Highland road to Perth, where it was intended the two divisions of his army should join.

† Badenoch is so near Inverness, that it was thought the Macphersons could be had whenever they were wanted ; and in the

sent down his regiment to Speyside to join the Athol brigade, which made part of those forces under the command of the Duke of Perth that guarded the fords of the river Spey, by which it was expected the Duke of Cumberland's would come when they marched northward. Lord George himself went on to Inverness, where he arrived on the 3d of April.

On that very day the siege * of Fort-William was raised by General Stapleton, who spiked his heavy cannon, carried off his field pieces, and marched with his own men towards Inverness, leaving the Highlanders and their chiefs to follow when they pleased.

mean time might labour their ground, sow their oat seed, and live upon their own provisions; for the magazines at Inverness were very ill supplied with ammunition of every sort.

* A journal of the siege of Fort-William, said to be written by an officer of the garrison, was published in the Scots Magazine of the month of March, in the year 1746. The author of that journal states the number of the men in the garrison at 600—takes notice of the strength of the place, which could not be invested, for it was built on the sea-shore, and, when General Stapleton came there, was defended on that side by the fire of two sloops of war. The siege, though not a very regular one, lasted about a month, and the garrison, who made several sallies, lost only six men.

CHAP. X.

The Duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen—His Army leaves Aberdeen—Proceeds towards Inverness—Skirmish at the Bridge of Nairne—The Rear-guard of the Rebels retreats—The Van-guard of the Duke's Army pursues—Charles comes up with a Body of his Troops—The Van-guard of the Duke's Army retreats—Joins their main Body—Design of a Night Attack—Night march of the Rebels—The Design frustrated—The Rebels retreat to Culloden—March of the Duke of Cumberland to attack them—Defeat and Dispersion of the Rebel Army.

WHILE the Generals of the Highland army were marching with their men towards Inverness, the Duke of Cumberland was preparing to march to the same place with all his forces. His Royal Highness had provided every thing that was thought necessary to ensure success.

Intending to march by the coast road, which is nowhere far from the sea, he had given orders for a number of transports, with a convoy of several ships of war, to attend his army in their march.

The transports were loaded with provisions, ammunition, artillery, and every thing necessary for an army.

On the 8th of April, the Duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen with the last division of his army *, and advancing to the northward was joined by General Bland and General Mordaunt, with the troops under

* State of the effective force of the army under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, from the return dated at Aberdeen, March 26, 1746.

EFFECTIVE RANK AND FILE, 7179

State Paper Office, July 14, 1801.

Extracted by John Bruce, Keeper of State Papers.

their command ; so that the whole army met at Cullen, which is twelve miles from the river Spey.

At Aberdeen, the Duke's army had been reinforced by two regiments from England, the Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and Blyth's regiment of foot, with 600 recovered men from the hospitals at Edinburgh. The weather was cold, but windy and dry, and the river Spey was known to be fordable.

A considerable part of the rebel army, under the command of the Duke of Perth, lay on the north-west side of the river Spey. These troops consisted mostly of the Low Country regiments : they had drawn a trench, and raised some works on their side of the river, as if they intended to oppose the passage of the King's troops.

On the 12th of April, the army left Cullen, and marched on till they came to the Muir of Arroudel, which is about five or six miles from the river Spey. The army halted there, and formed in three divisions, each of them about half a mile distant from each other. The greatest division of the three was on the left, and marched along the high-road : the other two divisions marched nearer the sea and the ships, which were on their right. In this order the army advanced till they came to the river, which the greatest division entered at a ford near Gormach, the next division to that at the ford by Gordon Castle, and the division on the right at a ford near the church of Belly. In this manner the Duke's army crossed the river Spey without opposition, though it was generally expected that the passage of the river would be disputed. But this apprehension was owing to the ignorance that prevailed both of the condition of the rebel army at Inverness, and the number of men under the Duke of Perth's command, for he had not with him one half* of the forces of Charles, and was under orders to retreat without coming to an action.

* The Duke of Perth had with him at Speyside his own regiment, the Athol brigade, Lord Lewis Gordon's, and Lord Ogilvie's regiments, Colonel John Roy Stewart's regiment, the Farquharsons, and all the horse of the rebel army, except the first troop of guards. If the rest of their forces had been assembled, it was intended to have marched them all to Spey.

Accordingly, when the King's troops were approaching the river, the banks of which are very high on the north-west side, the Duke of Perth drew off his men, and retreated to Elgin.

The Duke of Cumberland's army encamped on the north side of the Spey, opposite to Fochabers.

On Sunday the 13th, the army marched from Spey-side to the muir of Alves, (which is a march of fourteen miles,) and encamped near the parish church of Alves, four miles from Elgin.—On Monday the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, which is seventeen miles from Alves. The van-guard, which consisted of some companies of grenadiers, with part of the Argyleshire men, and Kingston's light horse, marched on briskly. When they came to the bridge of Nairn they found that the rear-guard of the rebels had not left the town, and a party of their men (some of the Irish piquets,) standing at one end of the bridge, fired upon the grenadiers at the other; some shots were exchanged without much loss on either side.

When the rebels quitted the town, their retreat was covered by some cavalry, consisting of one troop of Fitzjames's horse, and the second troop of horse-guards. The troops that dislodged them from Nairn continued the pursuit for several miles, and were very near them at a place called the Loch of the clans, (which is five or six miles from Nairn) when Charles came up most unexpectedly, with his first troop of guards, and the Macintosh regiment. He ordered his men to halt, and formed them to receive the attack of the pursuers; who, seeing themselves out-numbered, retreated in their turn; and marching back to Nairn, joined the army which was encamped on the plain west of that town.

Charles had left Inverness in the morning, and taken with him all the troops that were there, leaving orders for those that were coming up to follow him as fast as they could to Culloden*, which is three miles onward in the way to Nairn.

* Culloden is a little to the southward of the high-road from Inverness to Nairn. These towns are about seventeen miles distant.

At this critical time, the rebel army was much dispersed. Locheil and Keppoch, with the Highlanders who had been at the siege of Fort-William, were on their way to Inverness, and expected every hour. Lord Cromarty, with about 700 men, was in Sutherland, as was also Mackinnon, Glengyle, and Barisdale, with their men.—Cluny and the Macphersons were still in Badenoch: the Master of Lovat (afterwards General Fraser) had gone to his father's country, which is very near Inverness, to bring up all the men he could to complete the second battalion lately added to his regiment. The absence of so many men was perfectly well known in the army, and it seemed very strange that Charles should make a movement which brought him nearer his enemies, and carried him still farther from his own men, of whom he stood in so much need. It appeared very soon that he came to Culloden for that very reason, that he might be nearer the Duke of Cumberland's army than he was at Inverness.

In the evening of the 14th, Locheil joined the army with his regiment. That night the Highlanders (who never pitched a tent) lay upon the ground among the furze and trees of Culloden-wood. Charles and his principal officers were lodged in Culloden-house.

Next day the army, joined by Keppoch and his regiment, was drawn up in order of battle upon Drum-mossie Muir *, about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden-house. When mid-day came, and the King's army did not appear, it was concluded that they had not moved from their camp at Nairn, and would not move that day, which was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. About two o'clock the men were ordered to their quarters, and Charles calling together the Generals and Chiefs, made them a speech,

* On the 15th, when the rebel army was formed upon this muir, Lord George Murray proposed to retire to the other side of the river Nairn, and occupy a piece of ground which he said was a much more proper field of battle for Highlanders than the plain muir where the army was drawn up.

in which he proposed to march with all his forces in the evening, and make a night attack upon the Duke of Cumberland's army in their camp at Nairn.

At first nobody seemed to relish this proposal ; and the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond expressed their dislike of it. Locheil, who was not a man of many words, said that the army would be stronger next day by 1500 men at least ; but when Lord George Murray rose, and seconded the proposal made by Charles, insisting and enlarging upon the advantage of a night attack, that rendered cannon and cavalry (in which the superiority of the Duke of Cumberland's army chiefly consisted,) of little service, it was agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that could be done in their present circumstances, for they were almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions.

When the officers went to their regiments, they found that a great number of the soldiers had gone to Inverness and places adjacent to procure provisions. Officers were sent from every regiment to bring the men back, but they refused to come, bidding the officers shoot them if they pleased, for they would not come back till they had got some food. This happened between six and seven o'clock in the evening ; and as the army was to march at eight, the absence of so many men seemed to put an end to the design of a night attack ; but Charles was bent upon making the attack. He made the chiefs and colonels assemble what men they could, and at eight o'clock gave orders to Lord George Murray to march. Lord George put himself at the head of the army, and marched with great alacrity to execute the design of a night attack, which he himself had formed ; and it was to have been executed in the following manner :

The river Nairn passes within half a mile of Drum-mossie Muir, the field of battle, and runs from that straight east towards the town of Nairn, which stands, as Culloden does, on the north side of the river. Lord George Murray intended to march with the army in a body, till they were past the house of Kil-

raick, or Kilravock *, then to divide his troops, and cross the river with the van, (making about one third of the army) which he himself commanded, at a place about two miles distant from Nairn, and march on, having two-thirds of the army on the north side, and one third on the south side of the river, till both of them came near the Duke's camp, then to cross the river again with his own division, and attack the King's army at once from the south and from the west. This was the plan of the night attack †; which, if it had been executed as it was projected, would, in the opinion of some of the bravest officers in the Duke's army, have proved not a little dangerous.

The Highland army marched from Culloden in a column, or rather in a long line of march, with an interval in the middle, as if there were two columns, one following the other.

Lord George Murray marched in the front of the first column, at the head of the Athol brigade. Lord John Drummond was in the rear of that division or column; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval between the two columns, that is, in the centre of the line of march. Two officers, and between twenty or thirty men of the Macintosh regiment, who knew the road very well, for they lived in that part of the country, were distributed along the line as guides.

* The house of Kilravock is ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to the town of Nairn.

† The plan of a night attack had been formed by Lord George Murray, who concluded that the Duke of Cumberland, whose army had not halted from the time they left Aberdeen, would certainly halt at Nairn. Lord George Murray communicated his plan to Charles, who promised upon his honour to keep the manner of the attack secret. Accordingly, in his speech to the officers, Charles did not mention the manner of the attack. There was another person in the army, Anderson, the guide at the battle of Preston, to whom Lord George had imparted the whole design. Anderson entreated him to explain himself to some of the Chiefs, particularly to Lochiel, which Lord George positively refused to do, saying, the Chiefs would be talking of it to some of their kindred, and his design would take air, and be defeated, for the success depended absolutely upon its being kept secret.

Soon after the Highlanders left Culloden it grew very dark, and as they kept no road, that they might avoid some houses on the high way to Nairn, they were obliged to march through some very wet and deep ground, which retarded them much, especially those that were in the rear: they had not marched far, when a messenger came up to the front, desiring that the van should halt, for the other column was a great way behind. The van did not halt, but an order was given for the men to march slower: notwithstanding this order the rear still lost ground, and many messengers were sent, insisting that the van should halt and wait for them.

While they proceeded in this manner, a great deal of time was lost, and the night was far spent before they reached Kilravock.

The Highlanders had passed the house and wood of Kilravock, and the van of their army was about a mile from the place where Lord George Murray intended to cross the river, when Lord John Drummond, who had often come up before, and whispered Lord George Murray to order a halt, came up again, and said aloud to Lord George, Why will you go on? There is a gap in the line half a mile long, the men won't come up. Lord George Murray ordered a halt*.

Locheil, whose regiment marched next to the Athole brigade, came up to the front, and joining Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, and General Sullivan, with some volunteers, who had marched all night in the front, consulted what was best to be done: they knew by their repeating watches that it was two o'clock in the morning; and as Nairn was more than three miles off, it was evident, from the time they had taken in marching hither, that it would be broad day-light before they could reach Nairn. Lord George Murray said it was a free parliament, and desired every body to speak, and give their opinion, for they were all equally concerned.

* The place where the Highland army halted, is called the Yellow Know (Knoll,) the name of a small farm-house belonging to Rose of Kilravock, which is above three miles from Nairn.

Most of them did speak, but they differed in opinion. Some advised a retreat, as day-light was so near, and they could not expect to surprise the enemy. Others declared themselves for marching on to Nairn. Lord George Murray, provoked that his favourite design of a night attack was frustrated *, joined those who advised a retreat, and answered every person who spoke for going on, of whom the most determined was Mr. Hepburn, who urged Lord George Murray to lose no time, but order the men to march on to Nairn as fast as they could. While Mr. Hepburn was speaking, a drum beat.—Don't you hear, said Lord George, the enemy are alarmed ; we can't surprise them. I never expected, said Mr. Hepburn, to find them asleep ; but it is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now.

During this altercation between Lord George Murray and Mr. Hepburn, John Hay † came up, and hearing what they said, immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the centre of the line of march, and told him, that unless he came to the front, and ordered Lord George Murray to go on, nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out instantly, and riding pretty fast, met the Highland army marching back to Culloden. Charles was extremely incensed ; and said Lord George Murray had betrayed him.

Of this night march towards Nairn, the Duke of Cumberland had certain information ; for several people in his pay who spoke the Gaelic language, and

* When it was agreed in council to march to Nairn, and attempt a night attack, Lord George Murray, who had taken Anderson to the council, squeezed him by the hand, and carried him home to dinner, where he expressed himself with great confidence of success ; and assured Anderson, that the night attack gave the Highland army a much better chance than they had either at Preston or Falkirk.

† About the time of the battle of Culloden, Secretary Murray was in bad health, and John Hay acted as Secretary.

wore the Highland garb, mixed with the rebels as they marched ; and, taking their opportunity to leave them at different times, gave notice to the Duke of the progress of the Highland army ; but none of the Duke's spies knew any thing of the intended attack, for Charles had kept his word.

The last person who came with intelligence to Nairn was one Shaw, (afterwards an officer in the 25th regiment.) From his information the Duke concluded that the Highlanders were coming on in the front of his encampment, where he could not be surprised ; for in the plain to the west of his camp, between his army and the Highlanders, were the Argyleshire men, commanded by Colonel Campbell, (the present Duke of Argyle ;) and advanced beyond them, there was a party of dragoons, commanded by Captain Hall, (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel,) that patrolled all night between the river Nairn and the sea.

It seems probable, that the Duke of Cumberland thought the rebels intended only to approach his camp, take their ground in the night, and attack the army in the morning ; for when Shaw came in, the soldiers were ordered to lie down with their arms by them, and take some rest.

At break of day the Duke's army was formed, and about five o'clock began their march towards Inverness, the infantry in three columns, with the cavalry in front and rear.

The Highlanders marched back to Culloden in much less time than they had taken in marching towards Nairn ; for, besides the advantage of having day-light, which they had very soon, there was no occasion to shun the houses ; and they took the best and shortest road.

It was between five and six in the morning when they got back to Culloden, fatigued and famished ; the men had received no pay for a month ; and on the 15th they had only one biscuit each man. The night march backwards and forwards had made matters worse, which were bad before. Many of the private men lay down to sleep ; and no small number

of them made the best of their way to Inverness to seek provisions.

About eight o'clock, Cameron, a Lieutenant in Locheil's regiment, (who had been left asleep near the place where the halt was made) came to Cullo-den house, where Charles with his principal officers lodged, and informed them that he had seen the Duke's army in full march towards them. Orders were immediately given to recal the men who had gone to Inverness; and to march the regiments to a part of Drummossie-muir, about half a mile to the west of that place where they had been drawn up the day before.

Sullivan, who was both Adjutant and Quartermaster General, made the disposition: and formed the army in two lines, with a body of reserve. The Athole brigade had the right of the first line: on their left stood Locheil's regiment, the Appin regiment, the Fraser regiment, the Macintosh regiment, the united regiment of Maclauchlans and Macleans, John Roy Stewart's regiment, the Farquharson regiment; and on the left of all, the three Macdonald regiments, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengary. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left.

The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's regiment of two battalions, which had the right: of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, also of two battalions, Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's regiment, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets.

General Stapleton commanded the second line. On the right of the first line, and somewhat behind it, was the first troop of horse-guards*, and on the left of the second line a troop of Fitz-James's horse. Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot-guards†, with

* In the different retreats which the rebels made, their cavalry was so much diminished, that, these two troops excepted, none of the horse made a part either of the first or second line.

† When the Highland army left Edinburgh, Lord Kilmarnock commanded a small body of cavalry, called the Horse-grenadiers: but his grenadiers were dismounted, and their horses

he remains of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallan's horse, which were dwindled almost to nothing, made the reserve, which was commanded by Lord Kilmarlock.

Charles placed himself on a small eminence behind the right of the second line, with Lord Balmerino's troop of horse-guards, and Colonel Shea's troop of Fitz-James's horse.

The rebels were standing in this order *, (having a wall which covered the right flank † of their army) when the King's army came in sight of them, about 2 o'clock, at the distance of two miles and a half.

The Duke of Cumberland, seeing that the rebels had taken their ground to give him battle, ordered a halt; and, breaking his columns into two lines of foot, flanked with horse, and having a strong body of reserve, advanced towards the enemy.

The first line of the Duke's army consisted of six regiments of foot. The Royal had the right. On their left stood Cholmondely's, Price's, the Scots Fusiliers, Monro's, and Burrel's. The second line consisted of the same number of regiments. Howard's

given to the men of Fitz-James's regiment, who had landed in Scotland, having saddles and accoutrements with them, but no horses. The grenadiers made the beginning of a regiment of infantry, which was called the Foot-guards; and commanded by Lord Kilmarlock.

* Notwithstanding the number of regiments mentioned in this order of battle, Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army, makes the number of their men in the field to have been only 5000: for (says he) although there were 8000 men upon paper, 3000 were absent. Lord Cromarty was in Sutherland with his own regiment. He had also with him Glengyle, Mackinnon, Barrisdale, and their men. Clunie, with the Macphersons, was on his march to Culloden, and at no great distance when the battle was fought. Besides these regiments, and considerable bodies of troops, a good number of men from every regiment, when they came back to Culloden after the night march, had gone to Inverness and other places in quest of food, and were not returned when the King's army came in sight of the rebels.

† The wall which covered the flank of the rebel army, was the north wall of a very large inclosure, whose south wall was near the river of Nairn; and the east wall about 150 paces from the cavalry, on the left of the Duke's army when the battle began.

regiment had the right; on their left stood Fleming's, Ligonier's, Blyth's, Sempill's, and Wolfe's. The reserve consisted of Blakeney's, Battereau's, and Pulteney's. The Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and one squadron of Lord Cobham's dragoons, were placed on the right of the first line. Lord Mark Ker's regiment of dragoons, and two squadrons of Lord Cobham's, on the left. When the King's army came within five or six hundred paces of the rebel army, part of the ground in their front was so soft and boggy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk; and were obliged to be taken off: the soldiers slinging their firelocks, dragged the cannon across the bog. As soon as the cannon were brought to firmer ground, two field pieces, short six pounders were placed in the intervals between the battalions, and Colonel Belford of the artillery, who directed the cannon of the Duke's army, began to fire upon the rebels, who, for some time, had been firing upon the King's troops from several batteries; but the cannon of the rebels were very ill served, and did little harm*. The Duke's artillery did great execution, making lanes through the Highland regiments. The Duke of Cumberland, observing the wall on the right flank of the Highland army, ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade, with a view to make the Highlanders leave the ground where they stood, and come down to attack his army. During the cannonade, which began a little after one o'clock, and lasted till near two, the Duke made several changes in the disposition of his army. Wolfe's regiment, which stood on the left of the second line, and extended somewhat beyond the left of the first line, was moved from its place (where the men were standing in water up to their ankles) and brought to the left of the first line, where they wheeled to the right, (and formed *en potence*, as it is called,) making a front to the north, so as to fire upon the flank of the rebels, if they should come down to attack the King's army. The Duke,

* One man in Blyth's regiment had his leg carried off by a cannon ball. Not another shot took effect.

at the same time, ordered two regiments to move up from the reserve, so that Pulteney's regiment stood on the right of the Royal, which had the right of the first line before, and Battereau's regiment stood on the right of Howard's regiment in the second line. His Royal Highness, after making these changes in the disposition of his army, placed himself between the first and second line, in the front of Howard's regiment.

While these changes were making, Colonel Belford observing the body of horse with Charles, ordered two pieces of cannon to be pointed at them; several discharges were made; and some balls broke ground among the horse's legs. Charles had his face bespattered with dirt; and one of his servants who stood behind the squadron, with a led horse in his hand, was killed. Meanwhile the cannonade continued, and the Highlanders in the first line, impatient of suffering, without doing any harm to their enemies, grew clamorous to be led on to the attack. A message was sent to Lochell, whose regiment stood next the Athole brigade, desiring that he would represent to Lord George Murray the necessity of attacking immediately. While Lochell was speaking with Lord George, the Macintosh regiment brake* out from the centre of the first line; and advanced against the regiment opposite to them, which was the 21st. But the fire of the field pieces, and the small arms of the 21st, made the Macintoshes incline to the right, from whence all the regiments to their right, with one regiment to their left, were coming down to the charge. These regiments, joined together, advanced under a heavy fire of cannon (loaded with grape shot)† and

* Before the Macintosh regiment moved, Charles had sent an order to Lord George Murray to attack; but Lord George never received the order, for Maclauchlan, who carried it, in his way to him, was killed by a cannon ball.

† Colonel Belford had ordered his men to load the field pieces with cannon-ball, as long as the Highlanders remained on their ground; but when they advanced to attack the King's army, and came within a proper distance, he ordered his men to load the field-pieces with grape-shot.

musketry in their front, and a flank fire when they came near Wolfe's regiment. Notwithstanding which they still advanced *, and attacking sword in hand, broke through Burrel's and Monro's in the first line, and pushed on to the second. In the second line immediately behind Burrel's, stood Sempill's regiment, which during the attack had advanced fifty or sixty paces; and their front rank kneeling and presenting, waited till Burrel's men got out of their way. For the soldiers of Burrel's and Monro's did not run directly back, but went off behind the battalions on their right. The Highlanders, who had broke through the first line were got close together, without any interval between one clan and another; and the greater part of them came on directly against Sempill's regiment, which allowed them to come very near, and then gave them a terrible fire, that brought a great many of them to the ground, and made most of those who did not fall turn back. A few, and but a few, still pressed on, desperate and furious, to break into Sempill's regiment, which not a man of them ever did, the foremost falling at the end of the soldier's bayonets.

Blyth's regiment, which was on the right of Sempill's regiment, gave their fire at the same time, and repulsed those that were advancing against them. When the Highland regiments on the right of their first line made this attack, the regiments on the left, the Farquharsons, and the three Macdonald regiments, did not advance at the same time, nor attack in the same manner. They came so near the King's army, as to draw upon themselves some fire from the regiments that were opposite to them, which they returned by a general discharge, and the Macdonalds had drawn their swords to attack in the usual manner; but seeing those regiments, that had attacked

* The Athole brigade, in advancing, lost thirty-two officers, and was so shattered that it stopt short, and never closed with the King's troops.

sword in hand, repulsed and put to flight *, they also went off. When the Highlanders in the first line gave way, the King's army did not pursue immediately. The regiments of foot, from right to left, were ordered to stand upon the ground where they had fought, and dress their ranks. The horse on the right of the King's army were the first that pursued, and they were very near the Macdonalds, when the Irish piquets came down from their place in the second line, and fired upon the dragoons, who halted, and the Macdonalds fell back to the second line. The two lines joined formed a considerable body of men; but their hearts were broken, and their condition was altogether hopeless and irretrievable: in their front they saw the infantry which had defeated them, and reduced their two lines to one, preparing to advance against them. On their right flank, and somewhat behind them, they saw a body of the Duke's cavalry †

* The Macdonald officers said, and Macdonald of Morar (eldest cadet of Clanronald) has left it in writing, that their men were affronted at being deprived of the right, (the post of honour,) which the Macdonalds had at the battles of Preston and Falkirk, and have had, they say, from time immemorial. The Duke of Perth, in the battle of Culloden, stood at the head of the Glen-gary regiment; and hearing the men murmur, (for they murmured aloud,) said to them, that if the Macdonalds behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself Macdonald.

† Before the battle began, that is, before the Macintosh regiment advanced against the King's army, General Bland, who commanded the Duke's cavalry on the left, ordered two companies of the Argyleshire men, and one company of Lord Loudon's regiment, to break down the east wall of the inclosure, whose north wall covered the flank of the rebel army. The three companies of foot pulled down the wall, and entering with the dragoons, put to the sword about 100 men, who had been posted in the inclosure to defend the wall. General Bland then ordered the foot to pull down part of the west wall of the inclosure, which they did, and the dragoons getting out upon the muir, formed at a little distance from the rear of the enemy. General Stapleton observing their position, detached from the second line one of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments, commanded by Gordon of Abbachie, who with his men occupied a piece of ground where there was a hollow way

ready to fall upon them as soon as the infantry should advance.

Such was the condition of the rebels when the Duke of Cumberland, with his infantry, advanced towards them. At his approach they began to separate, and go off in small parties, four or five together. The rest made two large bodies; one of these, in which were most of the Western Highlanders, directed their course towards Badenoch, and the hills of their own country. The other, and much the smaller body, in which were the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, marched straight to Inverness. The dragoons, both from the right and left of the Duke's army, pursued, and did great execution upon the straggling parties. Kingston's light horse followed the chase, till they came within a mile from Inverness. At a mill, which is about that distance from the town, lay the last of the slain. The Duke of Cumberland, marching on towards Inverness, was met by a drummer with a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender, and asking quarter. The Duke made Sir Joseph Yorke alight from his horse, and with his pencil write a note to General Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter and honourable treatment. The drummer went off with his answer. The Duke then sent forward Captain Campbell* of Sempill's regiment, with his company of grenadiers, who took possession of Inverness. The French and Irish laid down their arms.

between the dragoons and them. General Bland then ordered the Argyleshire men to go close to the north wall, and fire on the flank of the rebels. The Argyleshire men obeyed him, but received a fire which killed two of their captains and an ensign.

* Afterwards Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlass.

CHAP. XI.

Circumstances and Incidents at the Battle of Culloden—Number of the Slain in both Armies—Fate of the Chiefs who commanded the Highland Regiments that attacked the King's Army—Route of Charles when he left the Field—Crosses the River of Nairn—Halts there some time—Goes to Gorthleek—Sees Lord Lovat—Travels through the Highlands to Borradaile—Embarks for the Long Island—His Danger and Distress there—Returns to the Main Land—His Distress does not abate—Joins Lochiel and Cluny—Lives with them in the Great Mountain Renalder—Notice comes that two French Frigates are arrived at Borradaile—He travels to Borradaile—Embarks, and lands in France.

THE Duke of Cumberland's army did not lose many men in the battle of Culloden. A list of the killed and wounded, published by authority, makes the number amount to 310, officers included*. No general or field officer was killed. The person of the greatest distinction who fell that memorable day was Lord Robert Ker, second son of the Marquis of Lothian, captain of grenadiers in Burrel's regiment. He was in the bloom of youth, and extremely handsome. Standing at the head of his company when the Highlanders broke into Burrel's, he received, it is said, the foremost man upon his spontoon, and was killed instantly, with many wounds. As to the number of men in the rebel army killed at Culloden, it seems impossible† to ascertain what it was. The newspapers and magazines published at that time make the

* Four officers were killed, fourteen were wounded.

† The rebels published accounts of the battles of Preston and Falkirk, in which they were victorious; but no account of the battle of Culloden has been published by the vanquished.

number amount to 2000 or 3000. Other accounts make the number to be less than 1000.

The Highlanders who attacked sword in hand were the Maclachlans and Macleans, (making one regiment,) the Macintoshes, the Frasers, the Stuarts, and the Camerons.

Most of the chiefs who commanded these five regiments were killed, and almost every man in the front rank of each regiment. Maclachlan, colonel of the united regiment, was killed by a cannon ball, and the lieutenant-colonel, Maclean of Drimnin, who succeeded to the command, bringing off his shattered regiment, and missing two of his sons, for he had three in the field, turned back to look for them, and was killed by a random shot. Macgillivray of Drumnaglass, colonel of the Macintosh regiment, was killed in the attack, with the lieutenant-colonel, the major, and all the officers of his regiment, three excepted. Charles Fraser, younger of Inveralachie, who was lieutenant-colonel, and commanded the Fraser regiment *, was killed. The Stuart regiment had a number, both officers and men, killed in the attack; but Stuart of Appin, their chief, never having joined the standard of Charles, the regiment was commanded by Stuart of Ardshiel, who escaped from the field. Cameron of Lochiel, advancing at the head of his regiment, was so near Burrel's that he had fired his pistol, and was drawing his sword when he fell, wounded with grape-shot in both ankles. The two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off in their arms. When the Macdonalds regiment retreated, without having attempted to attack sword in hand, Macdonald of Keppoch advanced with his drawn sword in one hand and his pistol in the other; he had got but a little

* The Master of Lovat, (afterwards General Fraser,) colonel of the Fraser regiment, was not present at the battle; but having gone to his father's country, which is near Inverness, to bring up the men wanted to complete his regiment, (to which a second battalion had been added,) he was coming up with 300 men; and when half-way between Inverness and Culloden, he met the Highlanders flying from the field.

way from his regiment when he was wounded by a musket shot, and fell. A friend who had followed, conjuring him not to throw his life away, said that the wound was not mortal, that he might easily join his regiment, and retreat with them. Keppoch desired him to take care of himself, and going on received another shot, and fell to rise no more.

When Charles saw the Highlanders repulsed and flying, which he had never seen before, he advanced, it is said, to go down and rally them. But the earnest entreaties of his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others, who assured him that it was impossible, prevailed on him to leave the field*.

Charles, when he left the field, was attended by a good many horse, besides the two troops formerly mentioned; and crossing the river of Nairn, at a ford called Falie, which is about three miles from the field of battle, he halted for some time on the south side of the river, and there he dismissed the two troops of horse, with most of his attendants, desiring them to go to Ruthven†, where they should receive further orders. From Falie, Charles, with several people, amongst whom were Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and Hay, set out for Gorthleek, where Lord Lovat was, and arrived there about sun-set. Lord Lovat, who had never seen Charles before, received

* The persons who attended Charles on the day of battle did not agree exactly in their accounts of what passed: most of them (some of whom are still alive) gave the same account that is given above. But the cornet who carried the standard of the second troop of horse guards, has left a paper, signed with his name, in which he says, that the entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and his other friends would have been in vain, if General Sullivan had not laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse and turned him about. "To witness this," says the cornet, "I summon mine eyes."

† Andrew Lumisden, (author of that most excellent treatise, entitled, *Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome*,) had attended Charles during the whole time of the battle of Culloden, and was one of those that went to Ruthven; he says, that a messenger from Charles came to them next day, thanking them for their attachment to him, and the bravery they had shewn upon every occasion; but at the same time desiring them to do what they thought was best for their own preservation, till a more favourable opportunity of acting presented itself.

him with great respect, kneeling and kissing his hand. After a good deal of conversation, they had some supper, and Charles, having changed his dress, left Gorthleek about ten o'clock; and travelling all night, arrived next morning at Invergarie, near Fort-Augustus.

At Invergarie all the company took leave of Charles, except Sullivan, O'Neil, and one Burke, (Alexander Macleod's servant,) who knowing the country, was kept as their guide. With them Charles went to Locharkaig in Lochaber, and from that to Glenbeisdale, where he staid a day or two; and John Hay came to him there, with a message from Lord George Murray, to entreat that he would not leave Scotland, as Lord George had heard that he intended. Charles told Hay that he was resolved to go to France, and hoped to return very soon with a powerful reinforcement, which he had no doubt of obtaining. Charles then gave Hay a paper, written and signed by himself, containing an account of his design, to be shewn to his friends, but not for a certain number of days after he had set out for the Long Island *, where he expected to find a ship that would carry him to France.

From Glenbeisdale Charles went to Borradaile, the place where he landed when he came first to the Highlands; and Macdonald of Borradaile having procured him a boat with eight oars, he embarked at Lochnanuagh for the Long Island in the evening of the 26th of April.

The boat was crowded; for besides Prince Charles, Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke, there were other ten people, including the pilot and boatmen. They had not gone a great way when it grew very dark, and a storm arose, which the sailors said was the greatest they

* The Long Island, which lies due west of Scotland, is a number of islands extending about 130 miles from south to north; and when seen from either of these points they seem to be one island, which in reality they are not, being separated by the sea in more than one place. The most southern of these islands is called Barra, the next South Uist, then Benbecula, North Uist, Harries, and Lewis, which is the largest and most northern.

had ever seen before. The storm of wind and rain continued all night. When day-light came, they perceived that they were upon the coast of the Long Island, and about seven o'clock in the morning they with great difficulty landed at Rossinish, in Benbecula. The storm still continuing, they were kept by the weather two days in a miserable hut, where Charles and the people with him had nothing to subsist upon but oat-meal and water *. On the third day they left Benbecula, intending to proceed to Stornoway, a sea-port in the island of Lewis, where Charles was told he might hire a vessel to carry him to France; but another storm arising, the boat was obliged to put in at Glass, a small-island near Harries. At Glass they were received by one Campbell, a farmer, who lent Donald Macleod † his boat to carry him to Stornoway; and Macleod arriving there, hired a vessel, sending notice to Charles that he had done so. Charles immediately put to sea in his boat, but the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to land upon the Island of Lewis, at a considerable distance from Stornoway; and, setting out on foot in a very dark rainy night, the guide he had lost his way, and Charles did not get to a house in the neighbourhood of Stornoway till eleven o'clock next day. Soon after he arrived, Macleod came to acquaint him that the master of the vessel, being informed for whom the ship was hired, refused to stand to his bargain. Charles, disappointed of a ship, determined to leave the Long Island; and, getting into the boat which brought him from Lochnanuagh, put off; and when the boat was a little way from the shore, he ordered the sailors to carry him to Bollein in Kintail, which they refused to do, saying it was too long a voyage in an open boat. In the mean time, two large vessels appearing at a distance, they agreed to go southward, to the nearest land, which was a small island near Harries, called Issurt. There they landed, and

* They had brought with them four pecks of oat-meal from Borradale.

† Macleod was the pilot who steered the boat from Lochnanuagh.

looking at the ships, which were still in sight, Charles thought they were French, but every body * else thought they were English ; and the boatmen could not be prevailed on to go off and see what they were. When the ships were out of sight, Charles determined to keep along the coast of the Long Island till he should get to South Uist. Continuing his voyage along the coast of Harries, he had like to have been taken by a sloop of war, which was lying in a harbour of that coast, and spied his boat ; but before the sloop could get out of the harbour, the boatmen rowed off, and got into a small creek on the coast of North Uist. Charles with his people landed there, and remained for some days in a fisherman's hut, where they lived upon dried fish, which they found in the hut. Leaving North Uist, they proceeded to South Uist, where they arrived about the middle of May. Charles was then in want of every thing, and his health began to be affected. In this extremity he sent a message to Clan Ronald, proprietor of the greatest part of the island, acquainting him of his arrival, and of the condition he was in. Clan Ronald came immediately, bringing with him some Spanish wines, provisions, shoes, and stockings ; and sent back to his house for every thing else that was wanted, which he had.—Charles having remained a few days in the place where he landed, went to a part of the island which is sixteen miles from the sea, and staid there two or three weeks in a house belonging to Clan Ronald, near the hill called Corodeal, which is in the centre of South Uist.

When Charles embarked at Lochnanuagh, his departure from that place was not known for some time at Inverness, the head-quarters † of the King's army ;

* These two ships are said to have been two French frigates, which came to Lochnanuagh the day after Charles had left it, and landed some money, ammunition, and arms.

† The King's army remained in their camp at Inverness till the 22d May. On the 23d, the Duke of Cumberland marched from Inverness with Kingston's light horse, and three brigades of foot, and arrived at Fort-Augustus on the 24th, leaving four regiments at Inverness, and sending several other regiments to different parts of the north of Scotland.

and when it was known, nobody could tell to what place he had gone. By and by detachments of the troops were sent to every place where it was thought likely he himself, or any person of distinction who had served in his army, might be. Among the officers who commanded these detachments were General Campbell, (afterwards Duke of Argyle,) and his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, the present Duke. General Campbell having under his command some sloops of war and transports with troops on board, landed at the Island of Barra and other places, where he made a good many prisoners. From Barra the General sailed to St. Kilda, where he landed a body of men, and, having searched the island, he found no strangers there. From St. Kilda he returned to Barra, where he determined to go to South Uist, and search the Long Island from south to north, as it was thought that Charles might yet be concealed in that wild country. When General Campbell came to South Uist, he found there a strong detachment of regular troops searching for Charles, and also the independent companies raised by Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod, which had been sent from Skye for the same purpose. The condition of Charles then seemed to be altogether desperate; a number of men in arms, said to be 1500 or 2000, were marching backwards and forwards through the Long Island in search of him; and the Long Island was surrounded on every side by cutters, sloops of war, frigates, and 40 gun ships; a guard was posted at every one of the ferries; and nobody could get out of the island without a passport. In this perilous state Charles remained from the first week of June to the last; but, informed by the islanders of every movement of the troops, he often passed and repassed them in the night, and his hair-breadth escapes were innumerable. From perils so imminent he was at last delivered by a young woman, moved with compassion, the characteristic of womankind. Her name was Flora Macdonald, the daughter of Macdonald of Melton, in the isle of South Uist. Her father had been dead some years; and her mother was married

to a second husband, Macdonald of Armidale, in the island of Skye, who was the eldest captain of the Macdonald companies that were in South Uist. Miss Macdonald, who was related to Clan Ronald, had come to visit his family at Ormaclade *, and was living with them when Colonel O'Neil came there; and talking of the distress of Charles, whom he had constantly attended † since he came to the Long Island, Miss Macdonald listened, and expressed the most earnest desire to see Charles; saying to the colonel, that if she could be of the smallest service in preserving him from his enemies, she would with all her heart. Colonel O'Neil said that she could be of the greatest service, if she would take him with her to Skye as her maid, dressed in woman's clothes. Miss Macdonald thought the proposal fantastical and dangerous, and positively refused to agree to it. Soon after this conversation, Colonel O'Neil brought Charles to the place where Miss Macdonald was. Charles seemed to be in bad health, he was thin and emaciated, but possessed a degree of cheerfulness incredible to all but such as saw him then. Miss Macdonald seeing him in this condition, instantly agreed to conduct him to the Isle of Skye in the manner Colonel O'Neil had proposed; and set out for Clan Ronald's house, to provide every thing that was necessary for the voyage to Skye. From her step-father, who commanded the Macdonald militia in South Uist ‡, she procured a passport for herself, a man-servant, and her maid, who in the passport was called Betty Burke, and recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife as an excellent spinner of flax, and a most faithful servant. A boat with six oars was also provided. The evening before they left South Uist, Charles, dressed in

* Clan Ronald's house in the island of South Uist.

† When Charles went to the house near Corodeal, Sullivan, not being able to travel so far on foot, was left behind; and Colonel O'Neal, for some time, was the only person who attended Charles.

‡ At that time, the independent companies, and all other companies of men in arms, (the regular troops excepted,) were called militia.

woman's clothes, and attended by Colonel O'Neil *, met Miss Macdonald and Lady Clan Ronald at a place on the sea side, about a mile from Ormaclade. The lady had ordered some victuals to be brought; and while they were at supper by the sea side, a messenger came to acquaint Lady Clan Ronald, that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson of the navy, with a number of soldiers and marines, were come to her house in quest of Charles. Lady Clan Ronald immediately left them, and went home. Soon after her departure four armed cutters appeared, sailing along the coast, at some distance from them. They thought it better to skulk and conceal themselves among the rocks than to run away. They did so; and the cutters kept on without taking any notice of them. When the vessels were out of sight, they embarked about eight o'clock in the evening; and the weather being fair, and the wind favourable, they were very near the point of Waternish, in the Isle of Skye, when a party of the Macleod militia stationed there, seeing the boat, levelled their pieces, and called to the boatmen to land or they would fire upon them. But the boatmen continued their course, and the tide being out, got away before the Macleods could launch a boat to pursue them. From Waternish they proceeded to Kilbride in Skye, and landed near Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Miss Macdonald, leaving Charles at a little distance from the house, went to Mugstot: Sir Alexander was not at home, but Miss Flora disclosed the secret to Lady Margaret Macdonald, and told her where she had left Charles. Lady Margaret was greatly alarmed, for several officers of the King's troops were in the house. Lady Margaret communicated what she had heard from Miss Macdonald to Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor; and telling him where Charles was, desired that he would conduct him to his house, and take charge of him. Miss Macdonald having

* Colonel O'Neil was very desirous of going to Skye with Charles, but Miss Macdonald, who had a passport only for three persons, would not agree to it.

dined with Lady Margaret, set out on horseback, attended by Macechin, the servant, who had come from Uist to Skye in the boat with them; and overtaking Charles and Kingsburgh, who were on foot, rode on before them to Kingsburgh's house, where they lodged that night. Next morning Charles went with Kingsburgh to a hill near his house, and Kingsburgh having a bundle of clothes under his arm, Charles changed his dress, and put on men's clothes. From Kingsburgh's they went to Portree, opposite * to the small island of Rasay, which is but five or six miles from Skye. Kingsburgh thinking that Rasay, where there were no troops of any sort, was the safest place for Charles, intended that he should go there; and had sent a message to acquaint Macleod of Rasay of his intention. Rasay was not at home †, but two of his sons came in their boat and carried Charles to the island. As there were no troops in Rasay, the place was safe enough for Charles, but by no means a comfortable abode; for Rasay and his people having been concerned in the rebellion, a detachment of the King's army had been sent to the island, which they laid waste, carrying off the cattle and burning the houses; so that Charles and Rasay's sons were obliged to live in a cow-house, where they were very badly accommodated in every respect. Charles resolved to return to Skye, and Rasay's sons, with a Captain Macleod, who was their relation, and had commanded a company in the rebel army, carried him back to Skye in their boat. Soon after they landed,

* Port-Ree, or Rey, (King's Port,) so called from James V. who had been there in his navigation round the islands belonging to his kingdom. At Port-Ree Miss Macdonald left Charles, and never saw him again.

† Rasay came to Perth with his men in the month of November, while the rebel army was in England, and remained there till Charles and his army returned to Scotland. When the order (which has been mentioned) was sent from Glasgow to the forces at Perth, to march immediately and join the army from England at Stirling, Rasay and his men marched with the rest, and joining the army commanded by Charles, made a part of the Glengary regiment at the battle of Falkirk, and also at the battle of Culloden.

Charles took leave of Rasay's sons ; and giving young Rasay a case which contained a silver spoon, knife, and fork, desired him to keep it till they met again ; then turning to Captain Macleod, said, follow me *. They walked on about a mile without speaking one word. At last the captain said, he hoped His Royal Highness would forgive him for asking where he intended to go. Charles answered, I commit myself entirely to you. Carry me to Mackinnon's bounds in Skye†. They then changed clothes ; and, that Charles might appear the servant, he carried, as long as day-light lasted, a small bundle over his shoulder. They travelled all night, and in the morning came to the house of Captain John Mackinnon, who had been an officer in the rebel army. As they were very near the Laird of Mackinnon's house, Captain Mackinnon went there, and informed his chief that the prince was upon the island, and desired to have a boat to carry him to the main land. Mackinnon came immediately with his own boat, in which Charles, Mackinnon, and Captain Mackinnon, embarking at a place called Ellagol, in Skye, sailed to Lochnevis, a lake in the main land, where Charles was put ashore on the 5th of July.

As the country on both sides of Lochnevis had been the cradle of the rebellion, a great many detachments of the King's troops were sent there after the battle of Culloden : the officers who commanded these troops having received notice that Charles had landed at Lochnevis, formed a line of posts from Lochuren to Lochnevis, and from that to Lochshiel, to shut him in, being certain that he was on one or other of the promontories to the west of that line. Charles having made his way from Lochnevis to Borradaie, sent one ‡

* Charles, from the beginning to the end of his wanderings, never told the people whom he left whither he was going ; nor those to whom he came, whence he had come.

† Sir Alexander Macdonald, Macleod of Macleod, and Mackinnon, were then the sole proprietors of the Isle of Skye. The two former had joined the King's troops ; Mackinnon of Mackinnon, being old and infirm, staid at home, but his men joined the rebel army.

‡ Borradaie is about twelve miles from Lochnevis.

of Macdonald's sons for Macdonald of Glenaladale; to desire that he would come to him as soon as he could. Glenaladale came immediately, and brought with him another Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French service, and had come over to Scotland after the rebellion broke out. The two Macdonalds consulting with Charles, resolved to attempt bringing him through the line of posts. Along this line centinels were placed so near one another in the day time, that nobody could pass without being seen; and when it began to grow dark, fires were lighted at every post, and the centinels crossed continually from one fire to another, -so that there was a time when both their backs being turned, a person might pass unseen. Between two of these fires there was a small brook which had worn a channel among the rocks. Up the channel of this brook Charles and the two Macdonalds crept, and, watching their opportunity, passed between the centinels. After having crossed the line of posts, Glenaladale, thinking the West Highlands a very unsafe place for Charles, resolved to conduct him to the Ross-shire Highlands, amongst those Mackenzies who had remained loyal, and therefore were not visited with troops. These Mackenzies Glenaladale thought would not betray Charles; and the person whom he had pitched upon to confide in was Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul. Charles and his attendants, setting out for Ross-shire on foot, suffered greatly in their journey from want of provisions; and when they came to the Braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraus, a barbarous people, among whom there are but few gentlemen, necessity obliged them to call at the house of one Christopher Macraus. Glenaladale, leaving Charles and the French officer at some distance, went to Macraus's house, and told him that he and two of his friends were likely to perish for want of food; and desired him to furnish them with some victuals, for which they would pay. Macraus insisted upon knowing who his two friends were, which Glenaladale seemed unwilling to tell. Macraus still insisted; and Glenaladale told him at last that it was young Clan

Ronald, and a relation of his. Notwithstanding the consequence of the persons, Macraw, though rich for an ordinary Highlander, made Glenaladale pay very dear for some provisions he gave him. Having received the money, he grew better humoured, and desired Glenaladale and the other two to pass the night in his house, which they did. In the course of the conversation they talked of the times, and Macraw exclaimed against the Highlanders who had taken arms with Charles; and said that they and those who still protected him were fools and madmen; that they ought to deliver themselves and their country from distress, by giving him up, and taking the reward which government had offered. That night, a Macdonald who had been in the rebel army came to Macraw's house; at first sight he knew Charles, and took an opportunity of warning Glenaladale to take care that Christopher should not discover the quality of his guest, Glenaladale desired this man, who seemed so friendly, and so prudent, to give him his opinion, (as he had traversed the country,) what he thought was the safest place for Charles, mentioning at the same time his scheme of carrying him to the country of the Mackenzies, which Macdonald did not approve, saying, there were some troops got among the Mackenzies, and that he thought their country was in no respect safe; but that he had passed the former night in the great hill Corado, which lies between Kintail and Glenmoriston. That in the most remote part of that hill, called Coramhian, there lived seven men upon whom the Prince might absolutely depend, for they were brave and faithful, and most of them had been in his army. As Charles wished to get nearer Lochaber and Badenoch, where Locheil and Cluny were, he resolved to go to Coramhian. Next morning he and his attendants set out, taking Macdonald for their guide, who conducted them to the wildest and most craggy part of the mountain. When they came near the haunt of the seven men, who had neither house nor hut, but lived in a cave of the rock, Glenaladale and Macdonald the guide, leaving Charles and the French of-

ficer, went to the cave, where they found six of the seven together, who had killed a sheep that day, and were at dinner. Glenaladale said, he was glad to see them so well provided. They told him he was very welcome to share with them. Glenaladale said he had a friend of his, another person with him, for whom he must beg the same favour: they asked who his friend was: he answered that it was his Chief, young Clan Ronald. Nobody could be more welcome, they said, than young Clan Ronald; that they would purchase food for him at the point of their swords. Glenaladale went back for Charles and the French officer. When Charles came near, they knew him, and fell upon their knees. Charles was then in great distress. He had a bonnet on his head, and a wretched yellow wig, a clouted handkerchief about his neck. He had a coat of coarse dark coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan waistcoat, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues, tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, and he had not another, was of the colour of saffron*. With these people Charles staid some time, and they very soon provided him with clean linen; for a detachment of the king's army, commanded by Lord George Sackville, being ordered to march from Fort Augustus to Strathglass, the attendants of Charles were informed of it; and knowing that the detachment must pass at no great distance from their habitation, they resolved to place themselves between two hills near the road to Strathglass. The detachment passed, and some officers' servants following at a considerable distance, the Highlanders fired at them, and

* Condition of Charles as described by Hugh Chisholm, (one of the six who were in the cave of the rock when Charles came there.) Chisholm was at Edinburgh a good many years after the rebellion; several people had the curiosity to see him, and hear his story. Some of them gave him money. He shook hands with his benefactors, and hoped they would excuse him for giving them his left hand, as, when he parted with the Prince, he had got a shake of his hand; and was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the Prince again.

seized some portmanteaus, in which they found every thing that Charles stood in need of.

As Fort Augustus is only eight computed miles from Coramhian, the attendants of Charles used to go there frequently in the night-time, and, procuring what intelligence they could from the inhabitants of the village, sometimes brought back with them the newspapers. Meanwhile Charles became anxious to hear of Lochail and Cluny, and dispatched Peter Grant (one of the most active of the seven) to Lochaber, to find out some of the gentlemen of the name of Cameron, and let him know that he wished to come amongst them. Grant went to Lochaber and found Cameron of Clunes, who agreed to meet Charles on a certain day at a place near the head of Glen-coich, where Clunes had a little hut in a secret place for his own security. Charles having received this notice, set out with all * his attendants in a very stormy night, and travelling along the tops of the mountains, reached Drumnadial, a high mountain on the side of Lochlochie, which commands an extensive view of the country. There they rested all day; and Grant was dispatched again to see if Clunes had come to the place appointed. Charles and his attendants remained upon the hill; but as they had no provisions, and durst not stir by day, they were in great distress for want of food. Grant returning,

* Charles staid in the cave with these men five weeks and three days; during this long abode, either thinking he would be safer with gentlemen, than with common fellows of a loose character, or desirous of better company, he told Glenaladale that he intended to put himself into the hands of some of the neighbouring gentlemen; and desired him to inquire about them, and learn who was the most proper person for him to apply to. Glenaladale talking with the Highlanders about the gentlemen in their neighbourhood, and inquiring into their character, they guessed from his questions what was the intention of Charles; and conjured him to dissuade the Prince from it, saying, that no reward could be any temptation to them; for if they betrayed the Prince, they must leave their country, as nobody would speak to them, except to curse them: whereas £30,000 was a great reward to a poor gentleman, who could go to Edinburgh or London with his money, where he would find people enough to live with him, and eat his meat and drink his wine.

said he had been at the hut, but Clunes was not there; for having come to the place at the appointed time, and not finding Charles, he had gone away again: but Grant, in his way back, had met a herd of deer, one of which he killed, and secured in a concealed place. At night they set out, not for Clunes's hut, but for the place where the deer was lodged, which to their great relief they found. In the morning another messenger was sent to find out Clunes, who, with his three sons, came immediately. The Glenmoriston men committing Charles to the care of the Clunes, left him, all of them except Hugh Chisholm and Peter Grant, who remained with him for some time. Clunes then informed Charles, that all the ferries of the rivers and lakes were so strictly guarded that it was impossible for him at present to get to the countries of Rannoch and Badenoch, where Locheil and Cluny were: and that it was absolutely necessary he should remain where he was, till the vigilance of the guards abated. Clunes had a small hut in a wood near the place where they were; Charles and he, when there was no appearance of troops in the neighbourhood, and the weather was cold or wet, used to come down from the mountain, and pass the night in this hut; but when there seemed to be danger, and the weather was moderate, they used to remain all night upon the mountain. In this situation Charles was, when Locheil and Cluny, concluding that he must be to the northward of the lakes, and in no small degree of distress and danger, sent Macdonald of Lochgary, and Dr. Cameron (Locheil's brother,) to learn what they could concerning him. These messengers, well acquainted with the passes, made their way to the north side of the lakes, and very soon met with Clunes, who told them that he would conduct them to Charles, who was at no great distance. Charles was then on the mountain with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant. Charles and Cameron were asleep, and Grant had the watch: but nodding for some time, Clunes, Lochgary, and Dr. Cameron, with two servants, were pretty near before he observed them. He flew to

Charles, awaked him and his companion. Cameron and Grant proposed to make what haste they could to the top of the mountain. Charles was of a contrary opinion. He said that it was in vain to fly, that their enemies (who he thought were Argyleshiremen) would overtake them, or come so near as to kill them with their fire-arms; that the best thing they could do, was to get behind the stones, take aim, and fire upon them when they advanced; that as Grant and he were excellent marksmen, they would certainly do some execution: and that he had in reserve a pair of pocket pistols, which he produced for the first time. When the company that had alarmed them came a little nearer, they distinguished Clunes, which assured them that the rest were friends. Holding a council together, to consider what was best to be done, Lochgary and Dr. Cameron thought it was still too hazardous for Charles to attempt the ferries; and advised him to remain with Clunes as before. It was then agreed that Dr. Cameron should go amongst his brother's people in Lochaber, to procure intelligence; and that Lochgary should go to the east end of Lochlochie, and remain upon the isthmus, between the lakes, to watch the motions of the troops. This plan being settled, they separated; but notice having been given to the king's troops that Charles, or some of the absconding chiefs, were in the neighbourhood, one day Charles, having passed the night on the mountain, with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant, when they looked down on the vale, after sun-rise, they saw a number of men in arms demolishing their hut, and searching the adjacent woods. Charles and his attendants, to conceal their flight, availed themselves of the channel of a torrent which the winter rains had worn in the face of the hill, and ascending the mountain without being seen, travelled to another mountain called Malleutegart, which is prodigiously high, steep, and craggy. There they remained all day without a morsel of food. In the evening another son of Clunes came, and told them that his father would meet them at a certain place in the hills somewhat distant, with provisions.

Clunes's son returned to let his father know that he might expect them. At night, Charles with his attendants set out, and travelled through most dreadful ways, passing amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs: at one time the guides proposed they should halt and stay all night: but Charles, though exhausted to the greatest degree, insisted on going to meet Clunes. At last, worn out with fatigue and want of food, he was not able to go on without help; and the two guides holding each of them one of his arms, supported him through the last part of this laborious journey. When they came to the place appointed, they found Clunes and his son, who had a cow killed, and part of it dressed for them. In this remote place Charles remained with Clunes till Lochgary and Dr. Cameron came there, who informed him that the passes were not so strictly guarded now, as formerly; and that he might safely cross Locharkaig, and get to the great fir wood belonging to Locheil, on the west side of the lake, where he might stay, and correspond with Locheil and Cluny, till it was settled when and where he should meet them.

Charles crossed Locharkaig, and remained in the fir wood near Achnacarry, till he received a message from Locheil and Cluny, acquainting him that they were in Badenoch, and that Cluny would meet him on a certain day at Achnacarry, and conduct him to their habitation, which they thought was the safest place for him.

Charles, impatient to see his friends, did not wait for Cluny's coming, but set out with guides for Badenoch; and arrived at a place called Corineuir, on the 29th of August. From that he went to Mellanair, where he met with Locheil, and remained with him till Cluny, returning from Achnacarry, joined them. The two chiefs then conducted Charles to a bothie or hut, called *Uish Chibra*, where they lodged a day or two, and then removed to Letternilik, a remote place in the great mountain Benalder, belonging to Cluny, where a habitation (called the Cage)

was fitted up by * Cluny, in which Locheil and he had lived some time. Charles staid there with them till the 13th of September, when a message came from Cameron of Clunes, to acquaint him that two French frigates were arrived at Lochnanuagh near Borradaie, to carry him to France. Charles set out immediately, and travelling only by night, arrived at Borradaie on the 19th September. Notice of the arrival of two ships from France had been given to

* An account of that extraordinary habitation, dictated by Cluny, has been preserved.—The day after Clunie arrived, he thought it time to remove from Mellanair, and took the Prince about two miles further into Benalder, to a little sheil called Ujsk-chibra, where the hut or bothie was superlatively bad and smoky ; yet His Royal Highness put up with every thing. Here he remained for two or three nights, and then removed to a very romantic habitation, made for him by Clunie, two miles farther into Benalder, called the Cage ; which was a great curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. It was situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternlichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation ; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other ; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape ; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end, all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage, and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons ; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking. Here His Royal Highness remained till the 13th of September, when he was informed that the vessels for receiving and carrying him to France were arrived at Lochnanuagh.

most of those people who had been concerned in the rebellion, and were skulking in the neighbourhood so that a great many of them came to Borradale, and about 100 (among whom were Locheil and Colonel Roy Stuart) embarked with Charles on the 20th, and landed at Roscort near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September.

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